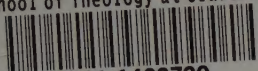


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**THE REFORMATION
IN THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND**



SPENCER JONES



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THE COUNTER-REFORMATION
IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND



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The Counter-Reformation In The Church of England

A REPLY
TO A PAMPHLET BY
THE LORD BISHOP OF MANCHESTER
ENTITLED "PROPOSED CHANGES IN
THE HOLY COMMUNION SERVICE"

BY
SPENCER JONES

RECTOR OF BATSFORD WITH MORETON-IN-MARSH
AUTHOR OF "ENGLAND AND THE HOLY SEE," "OUR LORD
AND HIS LESSONS," ETC.

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TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD
BISHOP OF MANCHESTER

"MY LORD BISHOP,

"Your lordship was good enough to forward to me, as you did to many others also, a copy of your pamphlet entitled *Proposed Changes in the Holy Communion Service*; and the argument of that pamphlet appeared to me so significant, its tone—if you will allow me to say it—so temperate, and its earnestness so deep, that my impulse was to write some words at once in the way of a reply, especially as the pamphlet in question was followed up by a manifesto signed by yourself and by eight other diocesan bishops.

"But when the Dean of Canterbury and other leading Churchmen wrote to the Press to protest against so grave a subject having been broached at all under the conditions of a European war, with many of the clergy and laity absent at the front, I thought it more correct to stay my hand until hostilities had ceased and a more normal condition of things had supervened. But now that the Treaty of Peace has actually been signed, and Convocation, in its recent meetings in May of this year, has once again confirmed the resolutions of 1915 and 1917, to which your lordship demurs, I hope I may venture, without presumption, to write to-day what otherwise would have been written at an earlier date.

"But, in doing so, may I say that I have no claim to speak for the Catholic party, that I have taken no counsel with any one else, and that I am speaking only for myself. And with this explanation

"I remain,

"Your lordship's faithful servant,

"SPENCER JONES."

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. A PLAIN ISSUE	9
II. THE MASS	20
III. THE ACT OF SUPREMACY	33
IV. THE NEW SUPREMACY	50
V. A HERITAGE OF CONFUSION.	63
VI. REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMA- TION	88
VII. REUNION	115
CONCLUSION	125

“Before all things it is necessary that he
hold the Catholic faith.”

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

A PLAIN ISSUE

YOUR lordship's aim is to show that the entire controversy turns upon the term, and upon the significance of the term "Sacrifice"; and you ask the question, "Is the Holy Eucharist a sacrifice, and, if so, in what sense?" Such is the plain issue, so far, as you state it at the outset.

Then, after explaining the Roman teaching on this point, and the views of various Churchmen among ourselves, you direct our attention first to the answer of the Reformers, and afterwards to what you describe as the "Counter-reformation."

I. THE SACRIFICE AND THE REAL PRESENCE

Your lordship's words are—

"The Convocation of Canterbury has determined to use the revision of the Prayer Book to reverse the settlement of the Communion Service made in 1552, and reaffirmed in 1559 and 1662.

"They have decided that the principle of a sacrifice offered to God upon an altar with the matter of Bread and Wine by a priest should be a permitted alternative, and that the priest should be allowed to be clothed in sacrificial vestments."

Your lordship goes on to describe these as "very important changes" which "must be taken together," as changes with which must be connected "the permission to reserve the consecrated elements, a

decision which must eventually carry with it devotions made before those elements, as being really a Presence. . . . It is no exaggeration to say that these decisions do establish a Counter-reformation in the Church of England."

I observe, incidentally, that your lordship agrees so far with the Catholic claim as to recognise that permission to reserve the consecrated elements must carry with it an attitude of devotion before those elements. That is to say, wherever the Real Presence is indicated to us we acknowledge that Presence by making an act of Adoration.

In other words, your lordship's quarrel is with the doctrine of the Sacrifice and of the Real Presence as such, and not with the inevitable deductions from that doctrine; and I understand your contention to be that, whereas the design of the Reformers was to repudiate that doctrine—a design they achieved by means of what you describe as the "settlement" of the year 1552, with the subsequent reaffirmations of that "settlement" in 1559 and 1662—the design of the Counter-reformers has been to undo that "settlement," and to restore the principle it was intended to denounce—a design they have achieved so far by means of the recent decisions of Convocation.

2. REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION

Of course, the mere fact that the Reformers conceived the design—if they did conceive the design—of repudiating the doctrine of the Sacrifice and of the Real Presence would not of itself involve the Church of England in that design, while the further and more particular question, as to how far the Church would be involved in case of any deliberate alteration in the form—that is, in the order and wording of the service (a consideration which constituted the very crux of

the difficulty when the problem of Anglican Orders came under discussion)—this question, a highly technical one, must be reserved for the liturgical scholar as such.

Meantime, assuming for the sake of argument that the design of the Reformers was such as your lordship describes, and even that the alteration of the form was a deliberate attempt to put that design into execution—I repeat, I am not presuming to pronounce upon this, but am allowing it merely for the sake of argument—even so, unless we are to insist that the conclusions of 1552 are self-evident, which no one will maintain, it is plain that the reformers of to-day have as much right to propose changes now, as the Reformers of four hundred years ago had then; in other words, unless we are to say that the principle of reform was not a legitimate principle in the year 1552, we must allow it to be a legitimate principle to-day; and, so far, that is how your lordship would appear to view it when you declare that “it is no exaggeration to say that these decisions do establish a Counter-reformation in the Church of England”; and, speaking for myself, I feel I have as much right to attempt to settle doctrine, as the reformers of 1552 had to unsettle it; as much right to argue back again towards the Holy See now, as they had to argue away from the Holy See then; and with more justice when it is remembered that an *Ecclesia Anglicana* not in conscious dependence upon the Holy See in spirituals is a phenomenon unknown to history before the reign of Henry VIII; and because we know now, beyond any doubt, that the English people of that day were forced into a condition of separation from that See by an evil-minded monarch for purposes of his own.

But apart from this, which some regard as a distinct question, and which certainly was so viewed under Henry VIII, there are, I am sure, thousands

who would agree with me in maintaining that whereas the nature of an enterprise cannot be altered by a mere name, the term "settlement" is a misnomer when applied to the Reformation, and that the Reformers of to-day have a better claim to restore the Catholic teaching on the Mass than the earlier Reformers had to unsettle that teaching ;—a better claim because that teaching persisted continuously in this country for over a thousand years ; because it obtains now in all the Churches in communion with the Church of Rome, which is the mother of English Christianity, as it does also in the Orthodox Church in the East ; because, in the light of those early centuries to which the Reformers themselves professed to appeal, it can be shown to coincide with the teaching of antiquity ; and because, while the changes of the sixteenth century cannot be understood, without ascertaining the conditions under which they were carried out, we cannot view these conditions in the light of later research without acknowledging that the Reformation in England was not a constitutional movement at all.

In other words, the manner in which the changes were effected, and the confused conditions they bequeathed to us, alike preclude the application of the term "settlement" to the Reformation in England ; while they leave the *onus probandi* with those who persist, in spite of our later knowledge, in lending their countenance to that revolution, not with those who repudiate it ; with those who continue to strike that note of discord, and not with those who are doing their utmost to resolve it.

From this point of view your lordship's pamphlet, and the manifesto by which it has been followed up, may be said to mark an epoch in the history of the Church in this country ; your own deliberate words being full of significance, coming as they do from one of the leading bishops on the bench, and constituting on your part the formal recognition of an

accomplished fact; and, I may add, of the climax to a long-drawn-out struggle, extending in its most recent phase, as I shall hope presently to show, over a period of some eighty years.

There are, then, before us two movements of reform, the one dating from the year 1533, the other from the year 1833; the former known to us generally as the Reformation, the latter coming now to be recognised as the Counter-reformation; the former launched upon the world in spite of a famous protest on the part of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the latter as a direct consequence of an equally famous protest by John Keble, author of *The Christian Year*.

In the former case—that is, in 1533—Cranmer, having been appointed Primate, proceeded at once to do what he was appointed to do—that is, to pronounce sentence against Catherine of Aragon; while the King, in the same year and without any reference to Convocation, passed his Act of Appeals, thereby shutting off the Church in this country from all contact with the Church abroad, and making the Archbishop's Court the final Court of Appeal; while on the other hand, in 1833, we find Newman and Hurrell Froude returning from their tour abroad, bent on beginning what came afterwards to be known as the Oxford Movement, the formal start of which has ever been identified with Keble's sermon on "National Apostasy," preached, on the very Sunday after their arrival, in St. Mary's pulpit at Oxford. The Reformation in this country was essentially a political, the Counter-reformation essentially a religious movement: Cranmer coming forward eventually as the champion of the Erastian principle, Keble of the Anti-Erastian; and while the two movements agree in professing to take their stand upon primitive teaching, they are found increasingly to differ in their interpretation of that teaching.

3. THE NEED OF REFORM

I am not forgetting, of course, the need of reform, especially in Germany, though I have no desire to take advantage of any prejudices of the moment against that country; but a distinction is always recognised between the nature of the movement here and of that on the Continent. Nor am I forgetting what Bossuet himself allows, that a reform of discipline had been ardently desired for ages, and St. Bernard had yearned and cried aloud for this all along his time. "Who will grant me to see," he cried, "before I die the Church of God such as she was in primitive times?" and a saying was current in those days, not merely "among particular doctors as Gerson, Peter D'Ailly, and other great men . . . but in Councils too; and nothing was more frequently repeated in those of Pisa and Constance," that the Church ought to be reformed in "head and members." Also I do not forget how the entire movement was caught up and included within the movement of the renaissance as it spread over Europe like a cloud of gas, though not entirely a poisonous gas; yet sufficient to excite and even to stupefy some minds; and how all this, along with the more rapid spread of ideas through the art of printing, would have served by itself to disorganise the world in any age.

Some reforms, indeed, had been undertaken already in England, fifty years before, under Henry VII, with the sanction of the Pope and under his authority; one of the worst abuses in those days, especially in Germany, being that of non-residence; a scandal of which we continued to have experience in England for some two or three hundred years after, as, for example, in the case of Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff (1782—1816), who appears never to have resided at all in his diocese, not to mention other instances.

Nor am I forgetting how the world had invaded the Church, how princes and nobles in Germany had been ordained, many of them solely with a view to worldly position and prosperity—another abuse by no means unknown to the present generation; how the episcopal sees in that country were “as a rule held by nobles who saw in the sacred office nothing but a source of power and wealth . . .”; how they “left their duties to their suffragans”; and how many in those days fed themselves on rich benefices connected with the Cathedrals, and how “covetousness crept into the Chapters.”

Some Popes fought against these monopolies, while others encouraged them; with serious consequences to the tone of the clergy, especially in such centres as Franconia, Westphalia, Bavaria, in the Tyrol, and in most of the large towns.

Money, which is one aspect of this scandal then as now, has played only too prominent a part in the abuses of the Church, whether on the Catholic or on the Protestant side; and I heard a distinguished Roman Catholic say, a few years ago, at a public meeting before a mixed audience, that he felt sure Cardinal Manning or Cardinal Vaughan, had either of them been living in the thirteenth century, would have protested more loudly than did the prelates of that time against the extortionate demands made by Rome upon England under Henry III; indeed, only too many things in the later Middle Ages had become a matter of purchase.

On the other hand, whatever may be the truth as to abuses in some of the monasteries—a question which has to be studied very carefully—no one will deny that Henry VIII found it convenient, under the cover of what is miscalled “reform,” to enrich himself at their expense, or that the new middle classes in the sixteenth century came to favour the novel device of absolute royal supremacy as a means

indirectly of improving their position and of putting money into their own pockets ; nor that Henry recognised in this an admirable prop for his policy ; while in Edward VI's reign the "reforming" Council and their friends are believed to have appropriated within those few years some five million pounds—the sum we have been asked recently to collect throughout the Empire for our Central fund—of which only a very small proportion was expended on hospitals and other good works. Important distinctions, in either case, must not be neglected ; —the distinction between reform in discipline and the attempt to tamper with dogma ; the distinction between political exigency and the solemn convictions of religion ; and in particular the distinction between the use and the abuse of the Mass. And so far as any genuine efforts of reform were attempted in England during the sixteenth century and under the shelter of Henry's policy, what I am concerned to show—and this is the whole purpose of my Reply—is that the pivot upon which the Reformation movement in this country was made to turn was not a religious persuasion but a person—a person under the dominion of a passion and under a terrible compact with himself to wreak his vengeance, never mind at what cost to his country and his people, upon the prelate who dared to thwart him ; in other words, that the separation of England from the Apostolic See to which she owed her faith was effected by a movement purely political, and even personal to Henry himself ; that there is no trace of religion in the first and critical moments of that severance, and that when the adhesions had been removed with violence and in quick succession, and the Act of Supremacy had been followed up at once by the Statute of Treasons, the Church and the Country woke up to find itself confronted by the terrible alternative of death or surrender.

And furthermore, that the effect of this step on Henry's part, depriving England as it did of all communication with Catholics on the Continent, and therefore of all share in the normal councils of Catholic reform, particularly in the Council of Trent, at the same time depriving the Pope of that final "say" which hitherto he had always had in the election of our prelates, left us here at the mercy of usurpers, some of whom, indeed, were in earnest, while many, if not most, were among the most debased characters of their time. Thus, with all Catholic influence and teaching gradually shut off and shut out, with Catholic prelates who dared to protest and protect the faith deprived of their sees, often without even the show of a trial, supplanted by teachers of the "new opinions," and themselves cast into prison; with Convocation, in spite of its earnest and repeated protests, simply ignored, the Church and the country were left at the mercy of minds of one mould though not always of one motive, who foisted and fastened upon us formularies with no authority to support them, and who went on finally to insult our common sense by calling this a "Settlement"; thus leaving to later generations, after this policy of force had been withdrawn, the invidious, the formidable, but also the inevitable project of a Counter-reformation; the project, that is, of picking up the enterprise where Sir Thomas More and the party of moderate reform were compelled to lay it down—the party whose efforts were paralysed by the policy and persecution of the King, who by an organised conspiracy of fraud and force paved the way for the triumph of the other and the more violent party, which is ever to the fore in all great revolutions, and which in this case, with no power from without to counteract and to restrain it, threw the entire tradition of the Church, dogmatic as well as disciplinary, into the melting-pot, and the country itself into hopeless confusion.

Similar conditions of heresy and perplexity would emerge and come to the surface, more or less, in any age under such conditions; and in any age of the Church, so soon as legislation could recover itself, the cry would go up for that very Counter-reformation to readjust and set things right which your lordship now deprecates. This is only another way of protesting that the Church in this country lost ground because she had lost government; and in view of this fact, which is written on the very front of the Reformation movement, it is strange to find the manifesto protesting against the recent decisions of Convocation on the ground of the conditions under which they were reached—"so many of our best clergy and laity" being away from England on foreign service; and more particularly because these decisions will "mainly tend to encourage a group of men who have persistently defied the law and discipline of our Church . . .";—a comment which tempts me to enquire, in answer to this not very kind insinuation, whether this criticism is to serve as a measure for testing the virtue or vice of ecclesiastical change as such, and more particularly of that change in the sixteenth century to which the signatories lend their countenance and support; and, if so, how the Reformation itself will bear the application of this test?

With such a measure in our hands, and with a determination to view the movement of the sixteenth century as it really was and as we witness its effects in the Church life of to-day, and not as Protestant prejudice is tempted to paint it, we shall find, I think, that the Counter-reformation of our own time compares favourably with it in every respect, while it serves to correct the disintegrating and disastrous tendencies by which that earlier movement has been marked from the outset; and to prove, in particular, that in those troubled times men were suffering not

from too much Mass, but rather from too little; and in attempting to show this I shall begin, as your lordship also begins, with the doctrine of the Mass itself as it is taught in the Eastern Church and in the West; after which I shall attempt to recall the peculiar conditions under which the Reformers of the sixteenth century were tempted first to tamper with that doctrine, and afterwards, in some extreme cases, to tread it under foot; and this in order to show that the *onus probandi* must rest with those who prescribe an interpretation of this service which is entirely out of harmony with that of East and West alike.

CHAPTER II

THE MASS

AND first as to the Mass: you speak of the Roman teaching on this subject, but, my Lord, this teaching is not peculiar to Rome; on the contrary, you will find the very same doctrine in the Orthodox Church of the East; the same doctrine as to the Real Presence, as to the Sacrifice, and even as to the significance of the term "Transubstantiation"; the two communions differing only as to the form, and that not in any sense that can be called vital.

And you will agree with me and, so far, with Dr. Adrian Fortescue, a great authority on the Eastern aspect of this question, that in an enquiry of any communion as to what it holds or does not hold, we are concerned only with what is official. Ridley, for example, who professed to believe in some kind of Real Presence to the end of his days, may have stumbled at some of the statements of Paschasius Radbert, as pointing to a crude, carnal view, and particularly at some recorded visions at the moment of Consecration. If so, we have to remember a saying of Mozley in reference to false miracles, which, he says, follow true miracles as the shadow does the substance, and that it is the fact which causes men to imagine; so with the Real Presence the fact is in the mind of the worshipper first, and it is the fact which causes him to fancy he sees the vision, if it be fancy. In any case it is the official statement of the doctrine alone which concerns us. And for this we turn to the great reforming Council of Trent.

I. THE ROMAN CHURCH

(a) *The Real Presence*.—In the Council of Trent, the first session of which was held in 1545, eighteen months before Henry's death, and the thirteenth session of which in 1551 (the year before Edward's Second Prayer Book) deals with this doctrine, the following statement was laid down: "This holy synod teaches, and openly and simply professes that in the august Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, after the consecration of the bread and wine our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and true man, is truly, really and substantially contained under the species (or appearances) of these sensible things."

The words "openly and simply profess" are understood to mean that the authority which employs these words has nothing to conceal, nothing that will not bear the light of our Lord's own language. Accordingly the definition declares that although the appearances before us after the Consecration continue to be the appearances of bread and wine, that which is really there under these appearances is the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ Himself;—present after a heavenly and spiritual manner. And the ground of this declaration is to be found in the conditions and circumstances of the institution itself. For those who were present watching our Saviour and listening to His words, saw Him take the bread into His hands, saw Him also bless it and break it, and then heard the words which followed upon this action—"This is my body"; "This" meaning evidently the Object in His hands; the appearances remaining, nevertheless, as they had been throughout. There was the change, and the non-change; both alike were facts, and they acknowledged the truth of both;—the truth of the species reported to their taste and sight, and the truth of our Lord's Real Presence, under the species, according to His word.

Luther himself, in the frenzy of his revolt and with a morbid appetite for everything that could be turned against the Pope, groaned under the weight of this text, which defied all his efforts to explain it away.

"If Carlstadt or any one else," he declared, "had been able to show that in the Sacrament there is nothing but bread and wine, I should have considered it as a great service. On that account I've suffered great troubles; I have been wrestling and writhing to get out of it, because I saw that in that way I should have been able to give Popery the greatest blow. . . . But I am a captive, I cannot get over it; the text is too powerful; no words can change its meaning" (*To the Christians at Strassburg*, De Wette, ii. 577). And it is this plain Bible framework that the Roman Catechisms are made to fit. In one of these, lying open before me with the imprimatur of the late Cardinal Manning, the question and answer appear thus:—

"What is the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist?"

Ans. The Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist is the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, together with His Soul and Divinity, under the appearances of bread and wine."

In the definition the word "vere" (truly) is understood to reinforce the word "is"; as if the question were asked, "Does this mean that Our Lord Himself is there in deed and in truth?" and the answer were returned, "Yes, truly there."

And so with the other words: "really" (realiter) suggests the distinction between *res* (thing) and *figura* (figure, or symbol), and is there to exclude a merely figurative presence; while "substantially" lends further emphasis to the reality, "substance" in this context being understood to signify a distinct thing or nature with an existence of its own apart from our consciousness; a term not bound up with the scholastic philosophy, as so many assert, but

only with the philosophy of common-sense according to which, for example, a tree continues to exist after we have ceased gazing upon it, or, in other words, does not depend for its existence upon our gazing.

The definition, then, and the question and answer based upon the definition, are so framed as to secure a straightforward interpretation of the Bible statement, and to save it from being explained away.

(b) *The Sacrifice*.—Upon the subject of the sacrifice the teaching of Trent is that in the Mass there is offered to God a true and proper sacrifice, and that the phrase “‘to be offered’ must not be taken to mean merely that Christ is given as food.”

But Roman theologians are careful to explain that the sacrifice in the Eucharist is one and the same sacrifice with that of the Cross, inasmuch as Priest and Victim are the same in both, and that whatever the Mass effects for our benefit is derived from “the abounding efficacy of the death of Calvary”; that it is a different sacrifice only in the sense that the service is numerically distinct from the actual situation of Calvary; and also that whereas on the Cross Christ was offered under His own species, in the Mass He is offered under the sacramental species; and finally, because the Mass “only applies the graces of Christ and does not originate them.”

Furthermore, inasmuch as “the ‘mode of offering’ which recalls, commemorates, and portrays Calvary, must be an external, visible, and sensible rite,” we recognise this in the act of Consecration. Also we are warned not to forget that it is “Christ in the Sacrament” that is sacrificed, not Christ absolutely.

Now, my Lord, if we weigh each several statement in the official definition and in the wording of the Catechisms, that the Sacrifice in the Mass is the outcome of the Cross, that it is one and the same Sacrifice with that of the Cross, and that whatever benefit we derive from the service is due to the

abounding efficacy of the Cross, will not this at least pave the way for all men of good will to meet for common worship at the Lord's service, and to realise the "democracy of the Altar" when they make their communion?

Here, again, we recognise the official teaching on this topic in England up to the year 1533; that is, until Henry, by holding the government of the Church in suspense, opened the way for heretical minds to meddle with it and to confuse it. And this teaching, again, is reflected in the Roman Catechisms and taught to 250,000,000 of Christians in Communion with the Apostolic see:—

"The Holy Mass," they declare, "is one and the same sacrifice with that of the Cross, inasmuch as Christ, who offered Himself a bleeding victim on the Cross to His heavenly Father, continues to offer Himself in an unbloody manner on the Altar, through the ministry of His priests"; a position which is supported, for example, in the language of the *Didache*, or Teaching of the Twelve (a fragment which has come to light in recent years); in the writings of St. Justin, St. Irenaeus, St. Cyprian, St. Cyril, St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom.

In the *Didache* the liturgical term *θυσία* (sacrifice) is applied to the Eucharistic rite, and also identified, as in the case of other early writings, with the sacrifice foretold in Malachi, ". . . and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering . . ." (Mal. i. 11); St. Irenaeus (A.D. 180) declares that "Jesus Christ in consecrating the bread and the wine has taught us a new oblation which the Church, receiving from the Apostles, offers to God all the world over."

Tertullian, again (A.D. 200), speaks of Holy Communion as "*participatio sacrificii*," while St. Cyprian, representing the teaching of the Church in Africa in the third century, holds strong language on this

subject, language abounding in liturgical terms that cannot be explained away; to offer the Eucharist being described as “celebrare sacrificium”; while bishops are termed “sacerdotes”; the holy table “altare,” and the entire rite “sacrificium dominicum.” St. Cyril, in his Catechisms, in reference to the Eucharistic rite, speaks of “offering Christ slain for our sins, imploring upon them and ourselves the mercy of Him who loveth men”; while in reference to prayers for the dead he declares “there is offered up (ἀναφέρεται) the supplication (δέησις—see 1 Tim. ii. 1) of the holy and tremendous there-lying sacrifice (προκειμένης θυσίας).”

2. THE ORTHODOX EASTERN CHURCH

(a) *The Real Presence.*—The Eastern Church teaches, as Rome teaches, “the real, objective and certain presence of Christ after the Consecration under the form of bread and wine,” rules out any merely subjective interpretation of the presence as grave heresy, and employs the term “μετουσίωσις,” the equivalent of “transubstantiation,” to express the change. The following deliberate statement, for example, was laid down at a great Synod of Jerusalem, held in 1672, expressly to vindicate the Orthodox Faith—

“After the consecration of the bread and wine the substance (οὐσία) of bread and wine no longer remains, but the very body and blood of the Lord in the appearance and figure (ἐν εἰδει καὶ τύπῳ) of bread and wine—that is, under the accidents (ὑπὸ τοῖς συμβεβηκοσιν) of bread.”

Again, “The body and blood of the Lord are held and bitten by our hands and teeth, but only by accident (κατὰ συμβεβηκός)—that is, in the accidents of bread and wine.”

“The body and blood of the Lord that are in the

mystery of the Eucharist are to be honoured above all things, adored with real adoration (*προσκυνεῖσθαι λατρευτικῶς*)."

Once more in the Orthodox Christian Catechism of Eugenios Kostarides (1907), the following question and answer will be found—

"Which mystery is called the divine Eucharist?"

"*Ans.* The divine Eucharist is that mystery by which the Christian believes that he receives the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the appearance of bread and wine for the forgiveness of sins and life everlasting."

(*b*) *The Sacrifice*.—Over and beyond the evidence of the primitive Greek liturgies, "those purest fountains of Eucharistic teaching," whose testimony to the dogmas of the Real Objective Presence and the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Eucharist for the living and the dead is well known, Mogilas, the writer quoted above, refers to the Eucharist repeatedly as a sacrifice (*θυσία*), and as the "unbloody sacrifice"; the Synod of Jerusalem also lays it down that in the Holy Eucharist "a true and propitiatory sacrifice is offered for all the faithful, living and dead"; and Orthodox writers, while insisting on the word *θυσία*, a real sacrifice, also identify the sacrifice in the Eucharist with the sacrifice on the Cross, as Rome and the Western Church does.

The Distinction.—The distinction appears, then, in the form, and more particularly in the moment of Consecration.

In all Eastern liturgies the recital of the words of institution is followed by a formal invocation of the Holy Ghost to change the offerings into the body and blood of Christ, the Orthodox Church maintaining that it is at that point and not at the words of institution that transubstantiation takes place.

On the other hand, "the Roman Church has settled the question" for her own priests and people "by

telling the former to kneel, adore, and elevate the Holy Eucharist, as soon as the words of institution are spoken, and by allowing the ἐπικλήσις of her rite practically to disappear."

The explanation given generally of this difference is that "the words of institution coming first, lay, as it were, the seed that is fructified by the ἐπικλήσις," and, as with all other aspects of the Christian tradition, there is less precision and therefore more variation among writers in earlier ages—*e.g.* St. Cyril of Jerusalem writes: "We pray the merciful God to send the Holy Ghost on the gifts that lie before us, that He may make the bread into the body of Christ, and the wine into the blood of Christ; for whatever the Holy Ghost touches is sanctified and changed" (Catech. xxiii. 7). On the other hand, St. John Chrysostom, when speaking of the priest at the altar, says: "'This is my body.' This word changes the offering" (Hom. 2 de prod. Judae 6); while St. Ambrose and St. Augustine agree in saying that the words of Christ consecrate: "Christus consecrat suis verbis" (Ambrose de bened. patr. ix. 38, 39).

The two views, then, would seem to be harmonised sufficiently by the statement of the Synod of Jerusalem, viz. that "the Sacrament is instituted by the essential word and sanctified by the Holy Spirit" (Dr. Adrian Fortescue is my authority here).

Transubstantiation.—Nor need the term "transubstantiation" present any bar, I think, to that agreement for which our Saviour prays, and St. Paul pleads, and for which all of us are yearning at the present moment; need not present a bar, that is, so long as we keep our eyes upon things and not merely upon words: for even with Rome herself the scholastic theory of substance and accident is not part of the Faith; nor was Luther correct in asserting that the term "transubstantiation" was an invention of the Schoolmen.

It was not an invention of the Schoolmen, having been in use nearly a hundred years before the birth of St. Thomas Aquinas, while the thing which the term represents was insisted upon plainly by Paschasius Radbert some three hundred and fifty years before.

Paschasius Radbert (A.D. 850), whose treatise, *De Corpore et sanguine Domini*, came to be recognised as an authority in the West, alludes plainly to the thing—that is, to the change effected by consecration—thus: “the substance of the bread is effectively changed within into the flesh of Christ (*substantia . . . efficaciter interius mutatur*)”; while the actual term “transubstantiation” is made use of by Hildebert de Lavardin in 1133, nearly a hundred years before the birth of St. Thomas; is found again, eighty years later, in a decretal of Innocent III in 1216; was fully adopted in the Fourth Council of Lateran in 1215, ten years before the birth of St. Thomas (1225); and is recognised as a consecrated term in Albertus Magnus, Alexander of Hales, and St. Thomas Aquinas himself; while the purpose of the term is equally plain, having been conceived and brought forward to protect the doctrine of the Real Presence, in the same way as, at an earlier period, the term *homousios* was adopted and incorporated in the Creed to protect the doctrine of our Lord’s divinity (see Bishop Hedley on *The Holy Eucharist*). Nor is it easy, I think, to refute the contention of the late Father Dudley Ryder, that where the term “transubstantiation” has dropped out, the tendency has been, first to dilute, and then to explain away the reality of the Presence.

However this may be, the theory associated with this term, let us remember, is not bound up with the scholastic theory; and it is only necessary to say that, “so far as ‘accident’ implies and covers ‘species,’ it has been taken into the Church’s phraseology.” It is true, of course, that the argument cannot

proceed without the assumption of what is called "substance"—that is, that a thing has an existence apart from the impression it makes upon the senses; but since that is an assumption upon which every one acts, in daily life, whatever theory he may put forward, it will surely hold its ground; the Catholic doctrine being that what was the thing we call bread becomes by virtue of the Consecration, in the setting of a valid Eucharist, the Lord's Body; while the species—that is, the qualities of the bread and wine—remain; thereby constituting, as St. Augustine would say, the sign of a sacred thing, and so fulfilling the conditions of a sacrament.

Adoration.—It will be seen, then, that the act of adoration before the Blessed Sacrament is made to the whole Christ there present, not to the species which indicate that Presence; and that the faithful must be as careful to direct their worship to the whole Christ when making their act of adoration before the reserved Sacrament as they should be to discern the Lord's Body at the moment of their Communion.

In other words, to quote a comparison, as we should not say of St. Thomas when he adored the risen Lord that he worshipped His colour or His shape, so must we not say of the worshipper before the reserved Sacrament that he is adoring the species. And it was in view of this very misunderstanding that Bennett of Frome, fifty years ago, consented to correct a statement of his own, in which he had spoken of "adoring and teaching the people to adore the consecrated elements," and, on the advice of Dr. Pusey, substituted the following: "who myself adore, and teach the people to adore, Christ present in the Sacrament under the form of bread and wine, believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

East and West, then, while differing at present on the question of the papacy, are in agreement evi-

dently on the subject of the Mass, holding distinctly, both of them, the doctrine of the Real Presence and also of the Sacrifice; a conclusion which is further confirmed on the high authority of Bossuet, when he declares that "the Roman Mass is like, as to its essence and substance, to the Mass which the Greeks and the rest of Christians received from their forefathers. For which reason the Church of Rome, when she admits them to her Communion, does not prescribe another Mass to them" (Bossuet's *Variations*, Vol. II. p. 342).

3. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Nor is there any difference, my Lord, between the mature judgment of John Keble on this subject and that of Convocation; while both alike coincide in their views with those of the East and West as I have attempted to describe them.

Keble's contribution to the discussion seventy years ago is interesting and significant, because he allows us to see his thoughts clearing as he proceeds.

Without any misgiving all along as to the reality of the Objective Presence, he was in some uncertainty of mind for a time as to the impenitent communicant; until at length the difficulty was cleared up by means of his correspondence with Pusey, and with Grueber, the Vicar of Hambridge; after which he stated his deliberate conviction, only nine years before his death, in the shape of a syllogism:

(1) "The Person of Jesus Christ, our Lord, wherever it is, is to be adored.

(2) "Christ's Person is in the Holy Eucharist by the presence of His Body and Blood therein.

(3) "The Person of Christ is to be adored in that Sacrament as there present in a peculiar manner by the presence of His Body and Blood."

And that Keble regarded this Catholic teaching as having the full sanction of Anglican formularies is

plain: "I must take leave to say that, granting the doctrine of the Real Objective Presence, Adoration is not only permitted but enjoined by the Church of England in her Prayer Book. Those who would prove that she prohibits the one must first make out that she denies the other—which they can never do as long as her Catechism and her Communion Office remain."

Again: "Homage, if due at first, must be due always: it cannot be innocently suspended or done away" (see *John Keble*, by Hon. Edward Wood).

Keble's view on the whole question was that "much confusion sprang from a mistaken prejudice. Attempts at over-definition of the *manner* of the mystery had led to the repudiation of the doctrine of the mystery itself, that they had been designed to safeguard."

Bossuet's prescription of exposition, then, is the one I have been led to adopt in preference to that of controversy, which tends only to alienate the minds of men when they ought to be at one.

And where it is a question of interpretation we cannot take our stand upon Melancthon, "the most moderate of Calvinists," or upon Cranmer who surrendered to Ridley, or to Ridley who was taught his divinity by Peter Martyr, the theologian of Basel; for apart from the fact that these men were living under conditions of rebellion, and with the normal government of the Church in suspense, they soon came to be as violent in their opposition to one another as they were to the authority of Rome, while some of the very best of them lived to have grave misgivings as to the Reformation movement itself. Moreover, so far from their individual opinions having received any confirmation afterwards from the Church at large, they were formally and deliberately condemned by the Council of Trent, at which synod the only English representative was Cardinal Pole, himself heartily in sympathy with the Council, and

at the moment of his death in 1558 Primate of the Church in England.

But what we can do is to refer to Scripture and to those Catholic fathers of the Church to whom the Reformers, equally with ourselves, professed to appeal, and then, I think, it will be allowed in the light of later and fuller research that the Catholic interpretation is the only one that will hold. On this subject Pusey, one of the most profound scholars, and—what is almost more important—one of the most unworldly Churchmen of his day, coming to us fresh from the study of the Fathers, gives us his view of their teaching in one of the most impressive passages in all his works :

“Along the whole course of time, throughout the whole circuit of the Christian world, from east and west, from north and south, there floated up to Christ our God one harmony of praise. Unbroken as yet lived on the miracle of the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit from on high swept over the discordant strings of human tongues and thoughts, of hearts and creeds, and blended all their varying notes into one holy unison of truth. From Syria, Palestine and Armenia, from Asia Minor and Greece, from Thrace and Italy, from Gaul and Spain ; from Africa proper and Egypt, and Arabia and the Isles of the Sea ; wherever any Apostle had taught, wherever any Martyr had sealed with his blood the testimony of Jesus, from the polished cities, or the anchorites of the desert, one Eucharistic voice ascended : ‘Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and all Thy words are truth.’ Thou hast said : ‘This is My Body,’ ‘This is My Blood.’ Hast Thou said and shalt not Thou do it ? As Thou hast said, so we believe.”

NOTE.—My chief authorities in the above chapter are, *The Orthodox Church and the Holy Eucharist*, by Dr. Adrian Fortescue, and *The Holy Eucharist*, by Bishop Hedley (Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row).

CHAPTER III

THE ACT OF SUPREMACY

I NEED scarcely state that no word in this chapter or elsewhere is intended in the way of disrespect to our gracious King, whose work for us all throughout the great war has been the admiration of the Empire, and whom every one delights to honour ; it is, of course, the ecclesiastical, not the civil and political, supremacy of the Crown which is engaging the minds of all Churchmen at the present moment, and to which I am calling attention.

And, first, the conditions of the Reformation in England, which turned upon this question, were peculiar, the movement in this country being personal to Henry himself, who spun it out of his own mind and heart as a spider spins its web.

I. THE MAN AND THE MOTIVE

Like other delinquents, Henry, who had to put forward good reasons for doing bad things, did not go wrong in a moment, although his character appeared on the down grade certainly as early as the year 1524, when he was beginning more and more to leave the affairs of state in the hands of Wolsey, that he might be free to indulge his pleasures and passions without let or hindrance ; so that by the year 1527, when Anne Boleyn came upon the scene, matters had become serious, the most serious matter of all being "The King's Matter," which was soon to become the subject of gossip all over the country ; not the matter of the Church, and how to make it better, but the anxious

question now always at work in his mind—how to substitute Anne for Catherine without undoing himself or his kingdom ; and in the critical period that followed—viz. the years 1528 to 1535—the hinge upon which the entire movement of the century was made to turn, or, we may say, the fulcrum upon which the lever was to be laid for lifting the English Church from its original base and withdrawing it from its allegiance to the Apostolic See, and so keeping the Pope and the Canon Law at arm's length from Henry—the one commanding figure throughout was that of the King himself, while the one passionate desire and determination of his mind, which gave its shape to his entire policy, was to be rid of Catherine and to marry Anne, and afterwards to justify his crime.

This motive it is throughout which explains the men and measures of that time—the packing of parliaments, of pulpits, and of convocations ; the choice of Cranmer and of Cromwell ; “supplications” purporting to come from Parliament, but emanating in fact from the Court ; the substitution of “Bishop of Rome” for the title of “Pope” ; the project of a National Church, so dear to the heart of Cromwell ; the butchery of the Carthusians ; the execution of More and Fisher ; the enrichment of the new middle class with the spoils of the monasteries, with the consequent attachment of that class to the doctrine of the new supremacy ; and finally, to crown it all, the head and front of all Henry's offending, the Act of Supremacy itself, with all that it brought in its train—illustrations, every one, of that fraud and force which marked the course of the Reformation in England, and rendered the entire movement at once misleading and unreal.

For all this tyranny the way had been paved, we know, in the previous century, when the old nobility had been almost exterminated by the Wars of the Roses ; while even in Henry VII's reign the House

of Lords was beginning to be packed, a procedure which was built into a system under Henry VIII, the Commons only mustering courage, as the reign advanced, faintly to say "No" to the King's exorbitant demands, and then only when those demands were for money. And when it is remembered that the general multitude of people at that time had no means of making their voices heard save by sporadic acts of rebellion, which could instantly be crushed, we see how the way was clear for a tyrant of the peculiar temperament of Henry to persecute every one who presumed to withstand him ; to pack his parliament for purposes of his own—a step which he took certainly as early as the year 1529—and so to make Acts which were really Acts of the King appear to be genuine Acts of the Constitution.

2. AN INIQUITOUS ACT

One principal illustration of this is the Act of Supremacy (26 Henry VIII, cap. i), and the so-called acknowledgment, on the part of the clergy, of Henry's claim of jurisdiction over the Church in spirituals, to which the preamble of that Act professed to appeal. You will forgive me, my lord, if I trace once again the outline of this base transaction, as it unfolds itself gradually in the period 1531 to 1536.

(a) *The Praemunire*.—In the parliament of 1529, a parliament packed with nominees of the King—nominees who were there expressly to execute the King's wishes, after certain Acts aimed at the liberties of the clergy and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction—a statute was passed to relieve the King from the obligation of repaying a forced loan which had been submitted to with the greatest reluctance a few years before ; a step which may explain what happened at the next meeting of the Houses, two years later, when the clergy discovered, to their amazement, that they

were under a *praemunire*, the entire body of them, for having recognised the legatine authority of Wolsey ; an authority, we may add, previously acknowledged by the King himself so long as it suited his purpose.

Nor was there any redress for this ; with the result that they were called upon to pay, in the southern province alone, no less a sum than £100,000, as a subsidy to buy their "pardon" ; after which we are not surprised to hear that when the Bishop of London attempted to collect the money in St. Paul's a riot ensued of so serious a nature that he was nearly murdered.

(b) *The Supreme Head*.—And this outrageous demand, as soon as it had been granted, was followed up by another, more outrageous still ; for their response, they were informed, must be accompanied by the recognition on their part of the Sovereign as "Protector and Supreme Head of the English Church"—a claim, not the outcome of religion but the direct outcome of Henry's lust ; for the King must have money to procure his pleasure, and the Pope must be repudiated for threatening to interfere with that pleasure ; a claim, too, which, in this absolute sense, had never before been heard of in the history of our country.

I. DEMAND AND DEMUR

The debate on this question, lasting some three or four days in the Convocation of February 1531, took the following course—

THE KING'S FORMULA

(a) "The English Church and Clergy, of whom he (the King) alone is the protector and supreme head."

(b) "The English Church and Clergy, of whom he (the King) alone, after God, is the protector and supreme head."

THE CONVOCATION'S REPLY

(a) Rejected absolutely by the Clergy.

(b) Rejected absolutely by the Clergy.

(c) "The English Church and Clergy, of whom we recognise his Majesty to be the singular protector and supreme lord, and even, in so far as the law of Christ permits, supreme head."

(d) "Our most invincible King . . . has provided that we may be able in quietness and peaceful security to minister to God and to duly serve in the care of souls committed to his Majesty and to the people committed to him (Ut in quiete et segura pace Deo ministrare, et curae animarum ejus Majestati commissae et populo sibi commissio debite inservire possimus). [N.B.—Here the actual care of souls is directly ascribed to the King.]

(c) Accepted, first of all in silence, and later in the day finally ratified in form, under special pressure from the King.

(d) In this case the Clergy dexterously turned the phrase so as to reserve the care of souls to their own keeping, and thus keep the spiritual and temporal charge distinct. They amend the formula and make it read: "Our most invincible King . . . has provided that we may be able in quietness and peaceful security to minister to God and duly serve in the care of the souls of the people committed to his Majesty." (Ut in quiete securaque pace Deo ministrare, et curae animarum, populi ejus Majestati commissi debite inservire possimus.)

2. THE QUALIFYING CLAUSE

As silence fell upon all when even the qualified formula was submitted to them, and no one came forward to second it, Warham, feeling that he must return some answer to the King, reminded them that "those who are silent give consent"; whereupon a solitary voice was heard to remark, "Then we are all silent," an attitude which was not likely to satisfy Henry after all that had passed between himself and the clergy in this long-drawn-out debate; and we are not surprised to hear that he insisted upon a formal ratification at the evening session.

It will be seen, then, that even with this famous qualifying clause to protect them—"so far as the

law of Christ allows"—a clause upon which they had themselves insisted, the clergy yielded little more than a sullen and silent assent; if, indeed, such an attitude can rightly be termed an assent at all.

Now as to the connotation of this clause. What did the clergy mean, and what did Henry understand them to mean, by these significant words: "So far as the law of Christ allows"?

Did they mean liberty for the houses of Convocation to pronounce judgment in spirituals without any reference to the Apostolic See or any sort of opportunity of communicating with that See?

The answer to this question is one that can be ascertained without any sort of doubt; for Archbishop Warham, shortly afterwards, only a few months before his death, made a solemn protest against all enactments passed in Parliament in derogation of the Apostolic See or of the prerogatives of the province of Canterbury.

Observe, Warham did not say merely "in derogation of the prerogatives of Canterbury," but "in derogation of the Apostolic See or of the prerogatives of Canterbury." It was not "spirituals within the English Church, apart from Rome"; but "spirituals within the English Church in communion with Rome." The qualifying clause was not intended to countenance any separation from the Apostolic See.

This impression is corroborated alike by the attitude of Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, presiding at that time over the Northern Convocation, owing to the vacancy in the See of York, and by the attitude of the King himself.

For Tunstall made a protest directly in his own person to the King against the title, even when regarded as under the protection of the qualifying clause, suggesting that the wording should be, "in temporals after Christ," in order, as he said, "to avoid offence."

And in case any further confirmation be needed, it appears in the fact that for some years after this date English archbishops continued to be presented in the Roman consistory, and to be appointed by Bulls of Provision from the Pope.

There is no doubt, then, at all what the saving clause signified, nor any doubt that it did not mean a consent on the part of the clergy to any severance from the Roman See, or to any claim on Henry's part to rule them and the Church of England in spirituals. That the King did not misunderstand it is equally plain from his own words to the nuncio, for "it was nothing," he said, "and was not intended to infringe the authority of the Pope, provided his Holiness would pay due regard to him, and otherwise he knew what to do"; "due regard" signifying in Henry's lips, of course, not enforcing the Canon law against the King's divorce.

In that utterance of Henry's it is easy to recognise the germ of the Reformation unsettlement and of the confusion that has come in its train. (See *Dublin Review*, April 1894, "Warham," etc. by Mgr. Moyes.)

(c) *The Clergy and the Commons*.—The next year, 1532, witnessed two events of the deepest significance, viz. the Complaint of the Commons, so called, on the one hand, and the petition of Convocation to the King, on the other.

The Complaint, purporting to come from the Commons, and distributed in twelve articles, included a charge of Canons having been made in Convocation without the royal assent and in derogation of royal authority—a complaint which was, in fact, no genuine complaint of the Commons, who were saying once more merely what Henry wished them to say; indeed, they were in his hands little more than a gramophone, of which the material, as well as the record he laid upon it, was the work of his own hands, or of his ministers acting on his behalf; for there are four

drafts of this "Complaint" now to be seen in the Record Office, with the corrections generally in Cromwell's hand !

Here once more we find the Commons being used as a cat's paw in order to hit at the Pope through the clergy, and thereby to weaken the opposition of both ; because the Pope stood in the way of the divorce, and because, with his imperious temper the King would not brook opposition from any one. No doubt after the strong direct appeal Henry had received from the Pope in the May of this year, urging him to treat Catherine as his wife and not to take the Church's law into his own hands, he saw how things were likely to go in Rome.

"Wherefore," wrote the Pope, "by that affection which we have always felt, and, if you will allow it, we still feel for you, with all love and earnestness we exhort, and with fatherly charity we warn you, if those things which sully your former piety be true, to correct them, and to recall Queen Catherine lovingly, and restore her to the honour as a Queen, and the affection as a wife, which she ought to have from you, and to send away Anne, till our sentence between you has been given. . . ."

On the other hand, the petition from Convocation to the King in this same year shows plainly the strong opposition on the part of the clergy to the King's legislation ; for they begged "that the Church might be allowed to enjoy her privileges," and protested "that the clergy were much impoverished by recent Acts annulling the liberty of the Church and sanctiones canonicas, to the peril of those who made the Acts, in the framing of which they were not consulted, etc., and that the same fathers whose business it is to declare the truth of the Canons may provide a remedy ;" all of which illustrates, what the ambassador had written to Charles V some months before, that "the clergy are more and more conscious every day

of the great error they committed in acknowledging the King as Sovereign over the Church ;" showing again also how Henry was playing fast and loose with the Church, against the express wishes of her rulers.

(d) *Cranmer and Catherine*.—The next year, 1533, witnessed the appearance of Cranmer and the disappearance of Catherine, her marriage with Henry being pronounced null and void by the Primate, who had been appointed to the see for that purpose, thereby laying the foundation-stone for the King's policy of separation. Cranmer was in a false position, of course, from the outset ; for, after proposing a solution of Henry's "matter," he found himself called to Canterbury in consequence and committed to the King's cause ; so that with his particular temperament and level of character, and within range, as he now was, of Henry's wrath, the course he pursued was probably the only one to which he was equal, while his hesitation at the moment when the King did call, and the fact that the call found him in Germany, already at work on the King's divorce, alike were eloquent of his future, for Cranmer more than any other prelate was responsible for the intrusion of German and Swiss men and methods into the theological schools of England ; while for him to return to his own country in answer to that call, unless, indeed, he could brace himself to withstand the King to his face, as More and Fisher did afterwards, and as Becket also had done to the second Henry three hundred and fifty years before, was to put his neck into a noose from which there could be no escape. Under the circumstances, then, the Archbishop, instead of picking up the clue where Warham on his dying bed had left it and holding fast to the Apostolic See and to Catholic traditions, was constrained to work out a theory of supremacy to meet the King's case ; in other words, to adopt the policy of Erastianism.

The Bulls from Rome for his consecration, having first been procured from the Pope under false pretences, he proceeded at once to resign them into the King's hands, renouncing at the same time the clauses, sentences and injunctions contained in them, and protesting that he held his See from the King only, to whom he swore obedience. After which, the ceremony of consecration having been arranged for March 30, 1533, before the service actually began, he took with him into the chapter-house four witnesses, before whom he protested that the oath of allegiance to the Pope he was presently to take must not be understood as binding him to do anything contrary to the law of God, the rights and laws of the State, or to hinder the reforms he hoped subsequently to introduce.

He then proceeded to the high altar, where, after explaining once again that the oath he was about to take must be regarded in the light of the reservation he had made in the chapter-house, he laid his hands on the open Book of the Gospels, and kneeling before the consecrating prelates, made this solemn statement—

“In the name of God. Amen.

“I, Thomas, elect of Canterbury, from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter and to the holy Church of Rome and to my lord the Pope, Clement VII, and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel nor consent that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence or any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers or letters I shall not willingly discover to any person. The papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regality of St. Peter I shall help and maintain and defend against all men (saving my order). The legate of the See Apostolic, going and coming, I shall honourably entreat and assist in

his necessities. The rights, honours, privileges, authorities of the Church of Rome, and of our Pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented and promoted. I shall not be in council, treaty, or any act in the which anything shall be imagined against him or the Church of Rome, their rights, seats, honours or powers. And if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions and commandments Apostolic to my power I shall keep and cause to be kept by others. Heretics, schismatics and rebels to our holy father and his successors I shall resist and prosecute to my power. I shall come to the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The threshold of the Apostles I shall visit yearly, personally or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell the possessions of my archbishopric without the Pope's counsel. So help me God and the Holy Evangelists."

At a moment when the question of canonical obedience and the declaration of assent has come to the front, this crisis in Cranmer's career is significant, although it would have been more effective then and more impressive now if the reservation had been made somewhere where the Pope, or some one representing the Pope, could have heard it; even then it could not have been otherwise than a profoundly unreal mockery on his part, when the actual wording of his oath is compared with the words by which he followed it up; for over and beyond the general problem as to how he was to pledge himself at once to the Pope and to the King, he had been married twice, once before his ordination and once again afterwards; and while I know other clergy in those

days had defied the canon law in that respect, still, not only was it against the law of the land as well as of the Church at that time for a clergyman to marry, but it was against the law also for any one who had been married twice, however lawfully, to be ordained priest or consecrated bishop—a condition which made it necessary for him to conceal from the Pope what he had done, as well as what he was about to do.

What he was about to do, or—which is the same thing—what Henry intended him to do, was soon to be seen, and after the chief step of all, the atrocious sentence against Catherine, and within a year of his vow pledging him not even to “imagine anything against the Pope,” we find him withdrawing the licences of all clergy who refused to preach against the Pope. Some of them, evidently, could not refrain from forbidden topics or from saying “the very contrary from what was expected of them”; for in spite of “repeated councils” summoned by his Majesty “to promote unity in religion,” “there swarmeth abroad,” wrote the King, “a number of indiscreet persons . . . who, nevertheless, are authorised to preach and blow about their folly.” “Considering the pains we have taken”—Henry might have added “the pains we have given”—“to avoid this, and the commands we have given you”—the lay head is in evidence here—“we expect you and the rest of our ministers whom we have chosen to instruct the people. . . .” And what instruction were they to give the people? They were to preach to them on a day like Easter in each year—“before their greatest audience”—“against the power of the Pope and in favour of the divorce.”

It is plain here again that Henry—and Henry alone—is the author of this separation between England and Rome; not the clergy, not even the Commons, and certainly not the country.

Meantime, with the whole course of Church history

before us, we shall look in vain for any parallel to this portentous piece of deception, carried out as it was under the spell of Cranmer's master.

A reservation in the way of interpretation, bringing an ancient document up to date, or correcting a misunderstanding, may be conceived ; such an one, for example, as is alleged to have been made by the present Vicar of Leeds in reference to Article XIII on the occasion of his reading himself in a few years back.

And I can conceive a reservation being made, when the psychological moment shall arrive, in reference to Article XXXVII, viewed in the light of a fuller knowledge of antiquity and of the period we have been considering, in order to explain what Dr. Pusey pointed out, that the paragraph as to the Bishop of Rome having no jurisdiction in this realm of England is restricted in its scope by the title, which confines it to the office of the magistrate in his civil capacity.

In the same way the Article as to the Mass, which is interpreted variously by various people, may have to be explained in the light of the plain declarations of Trent, which were subsequent to it. But Cranmer's oath and Cranmer's reservation, when the latter is viewed in the light of his actions, whether before or after, are mutually exclusive, the one neutralising absolutely and of necessity the other. And Henry's crime is deepened in our judgment of him when we reflect that, not content with forging a lie himself in the preamble to his Act of Supremacy, he also betrayed the Archbishop, on the occasion of his consecration, into an act of deception even more flagrant still.

And those who attempt to excuse the attitude of the Archbishop will at least be in a position to appreciate the motives of others, who, in their desire to make what reparation they can for so grave a crime, decline to allow any promises or vows they may take

in regard of this realm of England, to compromise those wider relations in which they stand and those wider duties they owe to the Catholic Church throughout the world. However this may be, it is plain how, with Cranmer on the engine and Henry ever at hand to do the work of shunting, these two continued between them to turn the Church of this country on to a side line. Or—to state it in another way—when we keep constantly before our minds what is manifest in the initial and critical stages of this drama, that the Church in this country relaxed her hold upon Catholic tradition because with sharp instruments in his hands like Cranmer and Cromwell, Henry pricked her fingers or pierced her hands until she was obliged to do so; that she did not change her own mind, but that it was changed for her; in other words, that she lost ground because she had lost government, we shall see how it was later on that efforts at counter-reform, which had come to the surface and died down again while penal statutes were still in force to prejudice her case, reappeared at length in 1833, when those statutes had been withdrawn, to take up their abode with us and to stay. And, in the particular case before us, that the presentation of the doctrine of the Eucharist should appear more advanced in proportion as persecution comes to be withdrawn, is rather a psychological necessity of the case than a subject for apology.

Henceforth, illustrations of this high-hand policy abound, and, in the same year as that of the divorce, a statute was passed by which all appeals to Rome were prohibited, the Archbishop's Court being made the final Court of Appeal; nor does there appear to have been any reference in this case to Convocation, so that if we watch the King closely we shall see how far he was from observing his promise "not to infringe," and how unconstitutional his action was throughout.

(e) *A Mémorable Year*.—The next year, 1534—in some respects the most memorable in the century—the Statute of Appeals, passed in the previous year, was re-enacted, with a further appeal now from the Archbishop to the King, in certain circumstances—another interesting illustration of Henry's method of usurpation; for as he put Cranmer to the front to occupy the ground until such time as Cromwell should be ready, and the way made clear for a layman to preside in Convocation, so in this case the King broke the blow by making the Archbishop's Court the final court for a few months, and afterwards pushing the appeal further on up to his own person.

And this brings us to the famous—or infamous—Act of Supremacy itself (26 Henry VIII, cap. 1), which can be appreciated only by reference once more to the debate on the Supreme Head clause of three years back, to which this Act appealed expressly for support; and we have seen how Henry had no shadow of excuse, nor have we, for even pretending to misunderstand the conclusion of that debate.

On that occasion, February 1531, the claim to an absolute supremacy over the clergy and Church of England was repudiated by Convocation point blank and without hesitation, while even the qualified clause insisted upon by the clergy had been acquiesced in by that body only after the greatest hesitation on their part, not willingly, but of necessity, this grudging assent being explained by them in both Convocations, and specially and personally by the presidents of both Convocations, as precluding expressly any such claim of headship as could be taken to signify the separation of England from the rest of Christendom, and more particularly from the Apostolic See, or any intrusion of the Crown in spirituals; and this again had been followed up the next year by a petition of Convocation to the King disclaiming his legislation against the Church.

Both parties to the contract, then, knew what the contract meant: the clergy knew their own meaning and proclaimed it, while the King also knew what the clergy meant, and acknowledged their meaning; the Church continuing for some time after to act upon that meaning.

Observe, then, what happened now. The sentence of the Canon Law against Henry's divorce having been pronounced at Rome this year (1534), Henry at once produced his Act of Supremacy, which he had ready to hand, and had the effrontery, in the preamble of that Act, not merely to suppress the qualifying clause of the clergy, but also to quote the Convocations, as if in support of that absolute claim the clause was so careful to repudiate. So he began; and next, on the strength of this suppression, he proceeded to lay down a formal enactment carrying with it for himself and his successors that very form of supremacy, almost in the very words, which the clergy had rejected in 1531. Let us turn, then, to the actual wording of this preamble (the italics are my own, of course, to call attention to significant clauses)—

(f) *A Law Undermined by a Lie.*—"Albeit the King's Majesty justly and rightly is, and ought to be, the supreme head of the Church of England, *and so is recognised by the clergy of this realm in their Convocations*, yet, nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof . . . be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that *the King, our Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors*, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed *the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England*, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*. . . ."

Under the peculiar circumstances of the moment, and in view of what had passed between the King and clergy in their Convocation, of the advantage that Henry meant to take of it afterwards, and of the use, or rather abuse, to which it was destined to be

put in later time, this suppression of truth may, I think, be described, not unfairly, as one of the most barefaced lies in all history; and though you and I may differ in other respects, my Lord, both of us alike are to-day the victims of this villainy: that is, we can put our finger upon the very point of that sin which has thrown the government of the Church here into confusion by separating us from our source; we can see now how Church and State alike have suffered from that sin, and how it has bequeathed to us in this country two schools starting from distinct and contradictory standpoints and yet able, each of them, plausibly to quote Tudor legislation in their favour; one based upon the conception of a religious body as merely a department of the State, and the other a body within the State, though not of it, claiming its part in the Catholic Church throughout the world.

Henry and Edward, and Elizabeth after them, could for a brief moment hold the Church in England apart from the Church on the Continent, while forbidding us absolutely to say that the pre-reformation Church and post-reformation Church in this country were not absolutely one and the same body. This they could do, but they could not stereotype this condition upon us permanently, or prevent us working for a coalition when their influence should ultimately be withdrawn.

Sad though it is to say it, these two parties or sections run on lines which, being continued ever so far both ways, cannot meet. And the issue which is before the country must be determined by reference to Scripture and the teaching of antiquity, to which both alike profess to appeal.

NOTE.—I am greatly indebted in this and in the following chapter to Gairdner's *Lollardy and the Reformation*; but independently of that I have made the original State Papers one of my studies for many years past.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW SUPREMACY

FROM what has been said we shall evidently be living in a dream if we assume the co-operation of an independent parliament, when in fact that parliament was packed for the purpose, or that the clergy had repudiated the Canon Law, when they were not allowed to study it, and when foreign professors were thrust into our universities for the purpose of deriding it, and of teaching the undergraduates to do likewise ; or that the clergy had accepted the King unreservedly as the head of the Church, when they expressly said they had not, or that as time advanced Convocation itself represented the Church or Church people, when in fact Anne Boleyn bishops were being inserted unconstitutionally in that body expressly to bar the way to that Catholic reform which might bring along with it the exposure of Henry's crime and even extend to deposing him from his throne. And we shall see now how from January to July 1535 the country was to witness a succession of arbitrary acts and of appalling executions to enforce this new authority.

The bishops were required to surrender all the Bulls they had received from Rome, and to acknowledge that they held everything from the King ; and after questioning and harassing them in every possible way, Cromwell confessed in private that he had summoned them to a council only to entrap them, with the result that all prelates were now required to

renounce all obedience to Rome ; a sealed declaration to that effect being demanded of each of them. While in April a circular was issued for the apprehension of preachers who maintained the Pope's jurisdiction.

I. THE POPE OF ENGLAND AND THE POPE OF ROME

As an illustration of what has been said above, observe how the friars first, and the entire country after them, were caught up into Henry's case, and made to say "Bishop of Rome" instead of "Pope," and to cease even praying for the latter as such.

A State Paper of this period includes the following words—

"All the friars . . . in England must be assembled in their chapter-house and examined separately concerning their faith and obedience to Henry VIII, and bound by an oath of allegiance to him, Queen Anne, and her present and future issue. They must be bound by oath to preach and persuade the people of the above at every opportunity. They must acknowledge the King as Supreme Head of the Church, as Convocation and Parliament have decreed." (Not so ; but "as Convocation expressly declined to decree.") "They must confess that the Bishop of Rome has no more authority than other bishops. They shall not call the Bishop of Rome Pope, either privately or publicly, or pray for him as such. . . . The sermons of each preacher must be carefully examined, and burned if not Catholic, orthodox and worthy of a Christian preacher. . . ."

Now, my Lord, with this initial stage of the movement before us, is it not plain that the pivot on which it is made to turn is, as I have said, not a religious persuasion at all, but a person—a person whom we have seen already inserting the thin end of a wedge, whose point is directed towards the Pope, considerations of

religion in general and of the Mass in particular being entirely away ; a wedge destined to be pressed home steadily and with relentless cruelty, and calculated to manufacture an English prejudice against the Pope in the first place, and to instil that prejudice with almost devilish cunning into the heart and mind of the nation afterwards—for Henry's sake ?

2. CROMWELL AND THE CARTHUSIANS

Among the martyrs at this moment the friars, of course, were conspicuous, as being less entangled with the world ; and after the friars, Sir Thomas More and Fisher. The year before this the whole Order of Observants had been suppressed for not yielding to Henry ; and now again the monks were splendid, facing the situation with a supernatural courage, and falling into line with their Prior, who prescribed three days of special preparation : the first to be a day of general confession ; the second a day of mutual conciliation ; while on the third day there was to be a Mass of the Holy Ghost for grace and guidance to enable them to face the future. So moved was the Prior at the moment of elevation at Mass on this last day that he had a difficulty in proceeding ; but eventually, with their preparation complete, the monks took their stand and set their faces like a flint ; not, however, without first making an effort with Cromwell to get their Order exempted from an oath which was impossible to their conscience ; but Henry's vice-gerent—a man who professed openly that he had no principles—too like his master either to intercede or to relent, or perhaps too over-awed to dare to oppose, insisted that they should acknowledge the King as supreme head of the Church, in things spiritual and temporal, without any qualification—the lie of the Act of Supremacy had to be repeated in this way constantly in the future, and Cromwell was to show men how a qualification

which had been suppressed deliberately the year before by the King, could now be cut dead and repudiated brutally by himself.

"I care nothing for the Church; will you consent or not?" "We cannot go against the Church," they replied, whereupon they were sent back to their cells, to be joined later on by one Reynolds, a monk of the Bridgettine Order, with whom they took their stand. "The King, our Sovereign Lord, is not supreme head in earth of the Church of England," was their decisive answer; a reply as loyal to the King as their sovereign ruler in temporals as it was to the Church whose jurisdiction he was presuming to usurp in spirituals, being in conformity also with Bishop Tunstall's qualifying clause—"In temporals after Christ."

Nothing now remaining but to bring them to trial, Chancellor Audely professed his surprise at their persisting in repudiating what had been enacted by the lords and bishops and the whole realm;—very impressive in sound, had it not been untrue in fact; and Reynolds replied in a memorable passage: "I had intended to imitate our Lord Jesus Christ when He was questioned . . . and not to answer. But since you compel me to clear both my own conscience and that of the bystanders, I say that if we wish to maintain opinions by proofs, testimony or reasons, mine will be far stronger than yours, because I have all the rest of Christendom in my favour—I dare even say, all this kingdom, although the smaller part holds with you, for I am sure that the larger part is at heart of our opinion, although outwardly, partly from fear and partly from hope, they profess to be of yours"; a passage which deserves to be weighed, as coming from one of the choice spirits of his time, eminent alike for piety and learning, and according to the testimony of a foreigner, a man of angelic countenance, of angelic spirit, and of sound judgment. "*Vir angelico vultu et angelico spiritu, sanique judicii*"

(G. Covrinus Nucerinus, at the end of More's *Latin Works*, p. 349, Frankfort, 1689).

Cromwell demanded under the severest penalties, who they were on Reynolds' side. "All good men of the kingdom," he replied. "As to proofs of dead witnesses I have in my favour all the general councils, all written authorities, holy doctors of the Church for the last fifteen hundred years, especially St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine and St. Gregory; and I am sure that when the King knows the truth, he will be very ill pleased, or rather indignant at certain bishops who have given him such counsel."

Eventually upon the judgment being pronounced against him, he remarked: "This is a judgment of this world." Afterwards, when the Carthusians came up for their trial, Cromwell had serious difficulties with the jury, who, after a long day of discussion among themselves, protested that they dare not pronounce such holy men malefactors; and after sending a deputy with a threatening message, but in vain, he had to go in person and to browbeat them into acquiescence and into pronouncing a verdict against their own conscience.

The horror of the butchery which followed might well be passed over in silence had not the history of this century been presented to us for so long in a false perspective, the persecution of Mary's reign being made to loom so large without due reference to the context and to the awful persecution of the Church and of herself personally which preceded and paved the way for it, that a brief reference here may serve as a corrective.

For not acknowledging that absolute headship over the Church to which Henry knew he had no right and had owned that he had no right, and after being dragged on hurdles through the city to Tyburn, after the custom of those times, these martyrs were hanged, cut down alive, then removed to another centre, where

they were set upon their feet, stripped of their clothes and disembowelled, their bowels being burned before their eyes, while they still breathed, each victim in turn witnessing the horrid butchery of his predecessor in suffering. So it was throughout ; where the monks could not be managed they were massacred, and massacred for the sake of one man.

How things were in private life may be inferred easily from such an incident as the following, of which Cranmer wrote to Cromwell: "Dr. Benger," he said, "at my table affirmed the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and after many arguments said, 'These new laws may be suffered for a season, but in time they will cause broken heads and set men together by the ears.' Then I said, 'Take heed what you say, for I am sworn to the King and will not conceal anything from him.' He said again he would never speak against the Church of Rome, nor would any good man, and left in a fume."

Well might Cardinal Pole say of Henry that the Turk himself was kind in comparison, and Dr. Gairdner, in our own day, that "this savage butchery terrified the many into acquiescence with a law which no one loved."

3. A PEOPLE RIPE FOR REBELLION

All that we have said, coupled with the outrageous treatment of Catherine and Mary, and the insolence of Anne Boleyn had so alienated and infuriated the multitude of people in this country, that a few years later, in 1539, finding them ripe for rebellion and even ready to welcome invasion had there been any one strong enough to take the lead, Henry was seriously alarmed. Meantime Lord Hussey, Chamberlain of the Princess, in an interview with Chapuis, ambassador to Charles V, had said "that he and all the honest men of the kingdom were very much

dismayed that your Majesty (Charles V) did nothing to remedy affairs here as it could be done so easily." "And your Majesty need have no fear of oppressing them by making war, because the indignation of the people was so great that everything would be reformed immediately. . . . Your Majesty (Lord Hussey said) ought first of all to make the said war, which might at once remedy everything, by the insurrection of the people, who would be joined immediately by the nobility and the clergy also, which is powerful and half in disorder." Lord Darcy had said that "the things treated here were so outrageous against God and reason that he could not hold himself for an honest man or good Christian if he consented to them, especially in matters which concern the faith. . . . The said Lord," knowing that an effort was to be made to introduce the Lutheran sect, ". . . would put in the field 8000 men of his own and of his friends. . . . I hold it certain that there are innumerable lords who would say as much as he if they dared," two of the most powerful nobles in the kingdom he mentioned as being ready to assist him, being the Earl of Derby and Lord Dacres.

The issue, then, was plain throughout: when Cranmer pleaded on behalf of Fisher and More that they could and would swear to the Act of the King's Succession, whereas they could not in conscience swear to the preamble, because that would involve an acknowledgment on their part of the Supremacy, Henry was obdurate: they must, he said, be sworn to both the Act and the preamble. Why? Because otherwise "it might be taken as a confirmation of the Bishop of Rome's authority, and a reprobation of the King's second marriage." In other words, Henry was against the Pope's authority the moment the Pope's authority was against Henry; and unless the King forced his people also to oppose that authority it would appear like a condemnation of himself.

So the King continued to be what he had made himself, Pope of England, with Anne Boleyn as a kind of heretical papal secretary, and Cranmer and Cromwell for his willing tools.

4. HENRY AND HERESY

Henry, of course, was not in love with heresy ; and, had he not been committed so deeply by his sin, would, no doubt, have helped and not hindered the bishops in their effort to defend the faith, and, sometimes at great pecuniary sacrifice to themselves to neutralise the effect of false teaching smuggled into this country from Germany, or introduced by deputations of Lutheran divines.

As it was, with no sympathy for their teaching as such, he was prepared to encourage them just in so far as they could assist him to cancel the Pope, without cancelling the Catholic faith also.

Thus he would unite with them against the Emperor or to thwart the Pope when he would summon a General Council ; for after all how could the Pope undertake any reformation of the Church without some attempt on his part to reform, and if necessary to depose Henry ?

But once they had served his purpose the King had no further use for the Lutherans, as Melancthon discovered to his dismay ; least of all if there was any notion on their part of a crusade against the Mass.

For, apart from Henry's Catholic convictions of which there was never any doubt, while in the eyes of Catholic Europe excuses might perhaps be found for his behaviour to the Pope, no excuse could be made for any attempt on his part to tamper with the Sacrament of the Altar.

How firm he could be here is plain from the famous discussion on "The Six Articles" ; and how the Catholic instinct of his people endorsed his

attitude is no less plain from an account by a member of the House of Lords at the time; a witness whom Dr. Gairdner considers likely to be "more accurate with regard to positive facts than some narratives of later date, which have been too generally accepted."

"With my pen," writes this peer, "I cannot express his (Henry's) marvellous goodness, which is come to such effect that we shall have an Act of Parliament so spiritual that I think that none shall dare say, in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar doth remain either bread or wine after the Consecration; . . . nor that it is necessary to receive our Maker *sub utraque specie*; nor that private masses should not be used as they have been; nor that it is not necessary to have auricular confession"—a passage which is the more eloquent because of its incidental reference, always more powerful in the way of testimony than direct proof, to the Real Presence,—“to receive our Maker”; as well as of the evident joy it reveals at Henry's vigorous defence of a great Catholic position; showing how, apart from the question of the Pope, the doctrine of the Mass, and of Sacramental Confession were regarded as a normal part of the heritage of Churchmen. “We of the temporalty,” continues the same writer, “have been all of one opinion, and my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Privy Seal as good as we can devise. . . . Finally all England have cause to thank God and most heartily to rejoice . . .”; an impression which is confirmed by the words of Marillac the new French ambassador just arrived in England: “The people show great joy,” he wrote, “at the King's declaration touching the Sacrament, being much more inclined to the old religion than to the new opinions, which are maintained only by some bishops who are little content at the refusal of their request to marry, in order afterwards to convert the property of the Church into patrimony and succession.”

Evidently, then, this display of firmness on Henry's part was necessary only because of these newly made prelates—newly made without any reference to the Pope, newly made for his own purpose, otherwise they never would have been there. And had these Anne Boleyn bishops been content to do Henry's business for him, *i.e.* to cancel the Pope, without attempting a business of their own, *viz.* to begin the unwinding of the skein of the entire Catholic system, the King's task would have been easier, and his later years would not have been consumed in a feverish and strenuous effort to hold them firmly to his purpose without yielding to theirs. As it was, we cannot say that England was showing any dread of the doctrine of the Real Presence, or dying to be rid of the Mass. So true is this, that seven years later, in 1546, only three years before Edward's first Prayer-book, and six years before the Prayer-book of 1552, Hooper, whom no one would select for a well-balanced Churchman, and who evidently regarded his own theological standpoint as the exception rather than the rule, was constrained to own that "our King has destroyed the Pope, but not Popery . . . the impious Mass, the most shameful celibacy of the clergy, the invocation of Saints the auricular confession . . . were never before held by the people in greater esteem than at the present moment"; a remarkable testimony to the endurance and survival of the Catholic instinct in this country, when it is remembered how the normal government of the Church by that time had been held in suspense and at the mercy of Henry's whim for seventeen years.

The same policy on the part of the King was now to be forced onwards by means of the famous formularies of the Faith, published respectively in the years 1536, 1537, and 1543; all three documents displaying a title in the form of a statement of the supreme head position, which was as faithful to the

Act of Supremacy as it was faithless to the clergy whose support was claimed in its behalf; and it is easy to trace the same influence at work and to track the same untruth, so adroitly inserted and insinuated by Henry, in every measure from the famous Act onwards.

Thus in the Articles of Religion, 1536, Henry appears "in earth supreme head of the Church of England," which happens to be the formula rejected absolutely by the clergy in 1531; in the second formulary: "Supreme head in earth immediately after Christ," another formula rejected in 1531; while in the last of the formularies the King appears "in earth of the Church of England and also of Ireland supreme head"—variations all of the one untruth. While in the body of the several formularies it runs: "Christ the only head is holy . . ."; again: "Our Saviour Jesus Christ the only head of the Universal Church"; and once more: "I do believe that the Church of Rome is not, nor cannot worthily be called, the Catholic Church."

But while Convocation had been brought to heel as regards any supremacy of the Pope, they were allowed some freedom on other subjects such as the Sacraments. So much so that while in one formulary only three Sacraments are named, in another we find the number seven restored, so that the Archbishop of York could write to a friend that "the other four Sacraments had been found." But the chief Sacrament appears throughout, with an exposition at once Catholic and complete. Only one of these need here be produced: "Under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially and really contained and comprehended the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary . . ."

The first of these formularies appears to have been produced by Bishop Foxe on July 11, 1538, being the outcome of conversations with Lutheran divines under the sanction, of course, of the new Supreme Head, and Dr. Gairdner suggests that probably they answered Henry's purpose by being such as "the Germans could not entirely disown and the Orthodox could not heartily denounce."

5. A NEW PARLIAMENT WITH AN OLD PURPOSE

The famous—or infamous—Long Parliament (1529–1536) came to an end under circumstances such as we have stated; and a new parliament, with the old purpose still before it, met that same year, 1536; Convocation as usual assembling the day after; Henry being still at work with his headship, with Cromwell as his agent, and Cranmer for his anti-papal theologian; and, of course, Convocation and Parliament alike being there to see to the King's wishes. One of these was stereotyped in a new Act of Succession, and another in a final Act "for extinguishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome"; all who acknowledged that authority being subjected to "the penalties of *Præmunire*"; a measure which appears to have been drawn up in view of the bull soon to be issued by the Pope for a General Council, to which divines were now being summoned, Cardinal Pole among them. On this occasion, Convocation had to listen to an offensive sermon from Latimer, who prescribed the policy they were to pursue, and the new project of a lay headship in spirituals as well as in temporals was exemplified in practical fashion by Dr. Petre deputed to preside by Cromwell, who had been deputed to preside by Henry, and claiming in the name of the King a chief seat in an assembly where he had no proper right to be at all.

All this will help to explain the introduction by

Bishop Foxe of a Bill of Reasons why Henry should not appear in the General Council now summoned by "the Bishop of Rome"—Henry's title for the Pope; the Bill being signed by Cromwell first and by the archbishops and other prelates afterwards. By such methods as these Henry not only usurped a jurisdiction which was not his, but cut off England from the Continent, and from such Catholic councils of reform as the Council of Trent; restricting the Church at home, for purposes of reform, within her own boundaries, and leaving her to the tender mercies of Cranmer, Cromwell and himself, together with such bishops as he might appoint; so that in this way a false tradition of reform came to be instituted by a royal layman, and carried on subsequently in his son's reign under other laymen almost more unprincipled than himself.

In the very year in which the latest of the formularies appeared (1545), the Council of Trent met to deal with some of the very same heresies that formulary had dealt with, and to correct those abuses which Henry had hindered the bishops of England from correcting. Why was it that, when Henry's strong hand fell to his side in death, England could not be reinforced by that Council? Was it because the strong, spiritual, wholesome instinct of the country wished to dispense with it? Certainly not; and the attitude of the Council in declining to allow the central doctrine of the Mass to be treated as an open question is an attitude, surely, which no community of Christians aspiring to be something more than a sect can afford to ignore.

CHAPTER V

A HERITAGE OF CONFUSION

THOSE who hoped that Henry's death would pave the way for recovery and for some measure of fairness towards the Church were soon to be undeceived, for the false principle and policy conceived and set in motion by the King had by this time acquired a momentum of its own and was carrying everything before it. So much so that under Edward VI matters were worse not better than under his father, the Church being insulted in the person of her prelates as she had never been insulted before.

I. THE EFFORT UNDER EDWARD

Let us hear what Dr. Gairdner has to say with all the original documents under his hands: "The result was," he tells us, "royal supremacy was wielded by a Protector, who paved the way for revolutionary changes, partly by Acts of Parliament, partly by encouraging lawlessness in advance of legislation, and partly by keeping bishops as fast bound as ever, so that they could neither stir hand nor foot to redress disorders in the Church till a new set of prelates could be appointed to enforce altogether new principles of Church discipline. . . . No such bold invasion of the spiritual province had been seen even under Henry VIII."

The "little company of councillors," not unlike revolutionaries in other countries to-day, were careful to see after their own interests, to confer titles upon

themselves, to appropriate the estates of the Church, and to outrage its rulers.

"There was hardly one among them," it has been said, "whose selfishness and greed was relieved even by nobler vices."

The Protector himself "appropriated the dissolved Abbey of Reading, seized on Westminster Abbey itself, and was only prevented from destroying it and utilising the materials for building himself a palace by the bribe of twenty manors given him by the dean and chapter!" Not a very promising qualification for a leader of "reform" in the Church.

Such were the men who took up the misgovernment when Henry laid it down, out-Henrying Henry in their turn, as a few illustrations will show.

(a) *Church Government ignored*.—To begin with, the Church as a distinct body was simply ignored, and, to follow the description of Wakeman, the Council throughout the reign "took the initiative in all changes both liturgical and ceremonial. *They added to the Prayer Book an important doctrinal statement on their own authority alone*" (italics my own). "By the same authority they ordered the destruction of images and altars and stained glass; superseded the King's Book as the authorised exposition of doctrine, though it had received the sanction of both King and Convocation; and reduced the bishops from being the ordinaries and rulers of the Church into being merely their officers for carrying out their orders in the department of religion."

What had the people of England, what had the Convocations, to do with this cool withdrawal of a Catholic formulary in favour of another which simply contradicted it? The former, the date of which was 1543, taught as other formularies had taught before it, that in the Sacrament "the things that be therein be the very body and blood of Christ in very substance"; that It should always be received fasting

“except it be in case of sickness or necessity,” and that people should beware of irreverence in Church, our Lord being “there bodily present.” A few years later this very same doctrine was carefully considered and re-stated in the great reforming Council of Trent.

This formulary, then, which every one had been taught to go by, was simply withdrawn over the heads of the people, without any sanction of the Convocation, by the so-called authority of a Council which was for the most part neither legally nor morally fit to touch it. And this process is described as “the Church of England becoming the Church of the Nation.”

(b) *Visitation of Dioceses*.—Another illustration of the “reformation” under Edward was the visitation of all the dioceses of England, *the powers of the bishops and ordinaries being suspended meanwhile*—a monstrous piece of impudent intrusion and usurpation, the purpose of which was to see that the injunctions with which the visitors were provided were carried out.

Contemplate this condition for a moment: the bishops are tied up to prevent any “interference” on their part with the ship they have been entrusted with, and are left simply to look on at this spectacle of unconstitutional innovation.

And for daring to protest against all this—and how could they do otherwise—Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, are simply put into prison without any trial.

By this time we are not surprised to hear that the long encouragement of heresy and revolutionary misgovernment, extending over some twenty years, had paved the way for insurrections in various parts of the country, and even for actual pitched battles in St. Paul’s Cathedral.

(c) *Ridley’s Reforms*.—If we turn now to Ridley’s

reforms we shall find that, after being intruded into Bonner's diocese of London, while Bonner was safely under lock and key—a sufficiently grave irregularity in itself—Ridley proceeded at once, on his own authority merely, “though probably with the connivance of the Council,” to order the destruction of the altars in the churches; in regard of which we are not informed whether the London congregations had been previously consulted; but other bishops, simply for declining to follow his bad example, were sent to prison; with the result that by the end of this short reign no fewer than five of these prelates were in confinement.

Among others deprived for the crime of holding stedfastly to their faith were Heath, Bishop of Worcester, made to stand down for Hooper, himself already Bishop of Gloucester, and Day, Bishop of Chichester, who was withdrawn in favour of Scory.

(*d*) *The Two Prayer Books*.—It is just possible that the first Prayer Book of 1549 “was brought to the notice of the Convocation in some unofficial way without any debate taking place.” If so, it may be that the Council assumed consent as Henry “assumed consent” before them. But this which is the utmost that can be urged, when we consider the momentous change the publication of this Prayer Book involved, amounts practically to no real sanction on the part of Convocation at all. As it is, contemporary records make no mention of any debate. The Council asserted, indeed, that the Book emanated from “the synods and convocations provincial,” but then they made a similar assertion, and even incorporated it in the title to the Forty-two Articles—when it was not true; in the present instance, however, the assertion was made to the Bishop of London, who was in a position to know, so that although it could scarcely have been a true statement there may have been some truth in it.

The Book was at once made the only legal service-book in England, by a penal statute in January 1549 ; and at the end of the month the Act of Uniformity was passed, requiring every minister in England after Whitsunday of that year to use the new Book and no other, under penalty of fine, deprivation and, if necessary, imprisonment. I am concerned here rather with the authority, or absence of authority, for this step than with the value of the work that was done.

The Book itself, mainly a translation of the old Latin books, included additions from Lutheran sources also, and also from the Consultation of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne ; not a very safe guide if we are to believe the account of him by Pastor, whose impartiality is generally admitted. For according to this writer Hermann, "whose theological standpoint was hopelessly confused, found himself on a precipitous slope on which he entirely lost his footing"; and although the Cathedral Chapter, the University, and the clergy of Cologne, appear to have "held out manfully on behalf of the Catholic faith," the Archbishop "persisted in his efforts to protestantise his diocese."

And when we turn to the second Prayer Book the influence of foreigners, whether living in this country or abroad, is still more evident. Calvin, writing from Geneva, was very active with his advice and with his pen ; and Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, already at work in this country, contributed "elaborate criticisms" of the 1549 Book ; while Cranmer, after failing to secure the co-operation of Convocation, made up his mind to do without that body, and under the pretext of explaining and perfecting the existing Book, contrived to impose a second Book on the country, a Book which at once received the sanction of Parliament ; that body proceeding to pass the Second Act of Uniformity in January 1552, in which this new venture was treated as if it were "only a schedule

of alterations in the former Book," and alluded to as excellent, in order to disguise as far as possible the drastic changes it carried with it; or it may be that some of the more important changes, were inserted during the interval of nine months between the passing of the Act and the actual publication of the Book itself.

However this may have been, various more or less irresponsible people seem to have claimed the right or embraced the opportunity of meddling with a work that professed itself to be an amendment, or supplement, of the first Prayer Book.

What is known as "The Black Rubric"—an attempt to stamp out the practice of adoration and the belief in the Real Presence—appears to have been inserted in this way by the Council, against the wishes of Cranmer; and other similar liberties were taken with the Communion Office which have compromised the English Church ever since, and opened the way for that very comprehensiveness sometimes put forward as the boast of the Church in this country, but which really spells that very "Yea and Nay" that your lordship so rightly deprecates.

Wakeman offers us some comfort when he says: "If rigid theologians are inclined to think that she (the Church of England) went too far and gravely compromised her Catholicity, they may find comfort in the thought that the second Prayer Book of Edward VI never had the slightest claim to any ecclesiastical authority, and cannot even plead acceptance by the Church, for it was only in force about eight months, and probably was never used at all in many parts of England."

Here again, then, we have an illustration of the manner in which revolutionary changes of the most drastic kind were not only made over the heads of laity and clergy alike, but forced upon them there and then, without discussion, without the sanction of Con-

vocation, and without any authority whatsoever. And because this publication is found to have dropped the term "Mass" from its title, it has come to be regarded as an Act of wilfulness and insubordination on the part of the clergy, when on finding all this out and recognising it for what it was, viz. another instance of Henry's high-handed and indefensible policy carried out by the irresponsible Council under his son, they insist upon reverting to the authority that the compilers of this second Book ignored, and reviving the use of a term which Cranmer had no sort of right to destroy.

And now once more "the old dread days of the Pilgrimage of Grace were renewed, the same deceitful methods were employed to win success, the same ruthless bloodshed was allowed in the punishment of the vanquished. Terror was everywhere struck into the minds of the people by the sight of the executions, fixed for the market days, of priests dangling from the steeples of their parish churches, and of the heads of laymen set up in the high places of the towns."

"The imposition of the Book of the new service was only effected through the slaughter of many thousands of Englishmen by the English Government, helped by their foreign mercenaries."

Gardiner was alive to the situation when, on being warned by Cecil not to preach on the subject of the Mass before the King, he replied by admonishing him "to leave these matters alone . . . leave them to bishops unto whom the blame, if any should be deserved, might well be imputed." "He could," he said, "no wise forbear to speak of the Sacrament, neither of the Mass; this last being the chief foundation of our religion, and without it we cannot know that Christ is our sacrifice." "From four o'clock on Thursday till I had done my sermon on Friday I did neither eat, drink, nor sleep." "Certainly he could not preach papers of another man's device."

Meantime England was flooded with literature from abroad, literature of a "cheap, profane, and scurrilous character," attacking the Mass and Catholic observances, and hawked about in market towns for public sale; the books against the Blessed Sacrament being specially blasphemous and profane.

Latimer seems to have warned the Government against "sudden mutations," although why there should have been caution if the people were hungering for the change, I cannot understand. In fact, they seemed as little ripe for the change as were the people in after times under Elizabeth. For we hear of Oxford "abounding with those cruel beasts the Romanists"; and of "Oxford men still pertinaciously sticking in the mud of popery"; in other words, not giving way until they were compelled.

"At last," however, "Oxford papists are reduced to order . . . many apprehended, some gibbeted, their heads fastened to the walls"; but whether this was effected by "cruel beasts" or not the writer does not state. On July 28, 1549, many of the people appear to have been "convented before the Council for hearing Mass at Cree church . . . greatly rebuked, and commanded to go there no more"—another means of converting the Church of the two Latin provinces into the Church of the English nation; but, seriously, was not such a course of high-handed and unjust dealing bound to come up for judgement and for redress?

2. THE MOVEMENT UNDER MARY

I think it will be allowed here that in the past one aspect for the most part has been made to do duty for all; and in their indignation at those burnings which cast so lurid a light over this period, men have forgotten, if indeed in some cases they have even known, not only the hideous brutalities under Henry,

and the persecutions under Elizabeth, but also the twenty years of odious and cruel persecution Mary had endured at the hands of her father, as well as the heritage of confused conditions he and the Council under Edward had bequeathed to her, and the disastrous preparation all this afforded for the extraordinary difficulties she was called upon to face.

And they have forgotten too often also, that in an age when heresy was regarded as so grave a disturbance to the State as to amount to treason, the penalty of death, where that heresy was persisted in, was at once constitutional and correct, which is precisely what the penalties under Henry were not.

Indeed, had Mary's sincere attempt to act with tolerance towards those who had plotted against her life and done their utmost in the previous reigns to withdraw from her the privileges of her religion—had those who had endeavoured to thwart her at every turn, and given her no encouragement to show any mercy, tried to meet the mercy she did show at the outset with generosity instead of in the spirit of narrowness and bigotry, she might never have been constrained to encourage the revival of the heresy laws, a step she took with great regret; or at least she might have exerted her influence to remit the penalty which under the conditions of those times she was legally entitled to inflict.

But as it was, beset on all sides by deadly plots, and confronted with problems not of her own making, she stood bewildered and almost paralysed by conditions too complex for her to handle without recourse to the one counsellor to whom she had been driven under Henry, and to whom she turned instinctively now.

And it is one of the tragedies in a life that was full of tragedy, that the Emperor Charles, consulting for his own interests and not for Mary's, as indeed he

had done before, gave her that very advice which was calculated at once to alienate from her the affections of the English people she had so long cherished, and to start her on a course destined to prove the ruin of her reign and the ruin for many years in this country of her religion.

"Foreigners" had never been favourites here, and the project of a union with a foreigner, the Emperor's son, Philip of Spain, was now proposed to Mary as the sovereign remedy for all her ills; with the result that the Catholic religion had now to reappear under the shadow of this national prejudice, and the ancient faith to which she had so firmly held in spite of persistent persecution to be presented in the very setting most calculated to alienate the more bigoted among her people.

At a time when minds had been unsettled and in some cases stupefied by the revival of ancient learning, and when real abuses in discipline were under the careful consideration of the Church elsewhere, when Church government in this country had been held forcibly in suspense for a quarter of a century so that England could not take her proper share in Catholic Councils of reform, and heresy of every kind had consequently run riot and the mind of the country was confused, just then it was that the problem presented itself as to how all that was sound could be distinguished and carried over from mediæval to modern conditions without a serious breach of continuity; and that problem found in Mary, who was called upon to face it, one whose character had been embittered and her life almost ruined by a long course of ill-treatment and by a policy identified in her mind with that very Protestantism she was now trying in vain to conciliate, and with a party that was convincing her, as in after years it convinced so impartial a historian as Hallam also, that persecution is the deadly original sin of the reformed Churches.

How carefully the Queen weighed the advice as to her marriage and made it a matter of earnest prayer may be seen by reference to the *Belgian Transcripts* in the Record Office (Vol. I. pp. 497-505; 600-2); and though not without her faults, no one can doubt that she acted throughout from the highest motives in behalf of her country and of her religion.

Facing her enemies bravely, she was prepared also to forgive them generously; her own character, too, was chaste and her Court pure in an age when Courts were notoriously otherwise; and what her notion of justice was appears in her noble words on appointing the new Chief Justice of the Common Pleas: "I charge you, sir, to minister the law and justice indifferently, without respect of persons; and notwithstanding the old error . . . which will not admit any witness to speak . . . in favour of the adversary, the Crown being party, it is my pleasure that whatever cases be brought, in favour of the subject may be admitted and heard. You are to sit there not as advocates for me, but as indifferent judges between me and my people."

Mary's zeal for the poor was a well-marked characteristic of her life, their interests being reckoned among her daily cares; and while she listened to their grievances and took their part sometimes against the injustice of her own officials, she was ever ready to give them counsel and practical aid in their various needs.

Now, my Lord, the reforming Council of Trent had completed sixteen of its sessions within two years of Mary's accession in 1553; the entire subject of the Holy Eucharist had come up for treatment in the thirteenth session in October 1551, and the Council was not concluded but only in suspense during the Queen's reign. Why, then, was Mary left almost to herself to compose the difficulties of religion, and particularly of the Mass, and to pass an Act of

Parliament for "the restoration of the Catholic Religion"? Was it because the nation had cried out five years before, when the Council of Trent began its sessions, "Save us from this Council; rid us once for all of the Mass"? No, it was because Henry, in his own interests, and not in the interests of religion, had contrived as long as he could to thwart the Pope in his effort to call that Council; one of the last efforts of his life being an attempt to put an end to it after it had been called. But for this the Church of this country, instead of being hustled into revolutionary changes in spite of herself, would have had her proper share in the deliberations of Trent, with all the weight of a General Council at her back to compose her quarrels.

As it was, and the instance may serve to show what genuine Catholic reform would have effected in this country had it not been unconstitutionally shut out, Cardinal Pole, in the brief moment at his disposal, immediately on being appointed Primate of England, set to work thoroughly to overhaul the ship of the Church in this country, and to set about that reform which was one principal object of his Legatine mission. With a view to this, after convening the National Legatine Synod of Westminster—*i. e.* both Houses of Convocation sitting in one assembly—he picked up that body which Henry and Edward's council had so violently thrown down, "replaced and restored to their ancient rank, force, and usage, in which they flourished before the schism, all the decrees of the Holy Councils"—as well provincial as general, "that have been received by the Apostolic See," etc.; a clear explanation of the Church's teaching on the seven sacraments was also included; and after insisting on a sound rule of life for bishops and clergy—as to chastity, clerical dress, and the recitation of their office—he laid special emphasis upon the greatest care being taken in the selection of candidates for Holy

Orders. Simony was sternly denounced ; and finally—what is so necessary if the clergy are to be trained for their proper duties—he enjoined the formation of clerical seminaries in each cathedral. The account of this effort on Cardinal Pole's part deserves to be read and studied (*Dublin Review*, Dec. 1900: "Cardinal Pole, Legate and Primate," by Dudley Baxter).

Meantime, Mary continued to hear Mass and to receive Communion as she had done in 1526 before Anne Boleyn had cast her spell over Mary's father. A solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost, such as was sung at the Council of Trent in 1545 and of the Vatican in 1870, was sung also at the opening of the Queen's first parliament ; and every day, with peculiar devotion at solemn junctures in her reign, she betook herself to where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved, and, "kneeling down on both knees, recited the 'Veni Creator Spiritus.'"

While on the morning of November 17, 1558, at a moment when her kinsman, Cardinal Pole, also was *in extremis*, knowing her end to be near, "hearing Mass, which was celebrated in her chamber, she being at the last point (for no day passed in her life that she heard not Mass) . . . when the priest came to that part to say, 'Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,' she answered plainly, 'Miserere nobis, Miserere nobis, Dona nobis pacem.' Afterwards . . . when the Priest took the Sacred Host to consume it, she adored it with her voice and countenance, presently closed her eyes and rendered her blessed soul to God."

The martyrdoms in Mary's reign were awful ; but perhaps because he viewed Mary in the terrible setting of her terrible life, and in the way of some partial reparation for "the systematic blackening of her memory by those whose interest it was to stand well with Elizabeth," Sir Frederick Madden in our own day is able to say deliberately of her that she

was "amongst the best, although not the greatest, of our sovereigns" (Introductory Memoir to *The Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*; and *Queen Mary*, by J. M. Stone).

3. THE ELIZABETHAN UNSETTLEMENT

We come next to the year 1559, the second epoch of which your lordship speaks, when the "settlement" of the Communion Service of 1552 was "re-affirmed." It was re-affirmed, but under what conditions?

Mary, as we have seen, had died on November 17, 1558, and Pole, the Archbishop of Canterbury, a few hours later; so that the See of Canterbury was vacant at the very outset; and not only so, but owing to several other sees having fallen vacant in the preceding months, and also to "a remarkable mortality among the bishops between Elizabeth's accession and the opening of her first parliament," as many as ten sees were unrepresented in the House of Lords, viz. Canterbury, Salisbury, Oxford, Bangor, Gloucester, Hereford, Rochester, Bristol, Chichester, and Norwich. The Bishops of Lincoln and St. Asaph also were away, owing to ill health, with a few other prelates; so that for one reason or another only ten prelates took part in the debates, and as many as fifteen votes for the whole of the session, and sixteen votes for the greater part of it were lost to the Catholic cause.

(a) *Convocation, January 24, 1559.*—What did Convocation say in that first moment of the reign? There was no suspicion, we must remember, of its having been doctored; so much so that the Protestant writer already quoted declares that it was "evidently elected without any pressure from the Government, and was the freely-chosen representative of the clergy of England." Were they dying, then, for the abolition of the Mass, or sighing for a "National Church"? Did they exclaim with a sigh

of relief, "Now we breathe again ; Mary is dead, and the Archbishop of Canterbury also, and the way at length is clear ; the day of our deliverance is come at last, and we shall see the Mass disappear from the country once for all, and along with it all mention of a Real Presence, or of a Sacrifice in the Eucharist " ? On the contrary, far from it ; at their very first meeting, ten weeks after Mary's death, this Convocation proceeded at once to frame a petition for the continuance of the old religion ; the doctrine of the Real Presence being the very first point they pressed ; and after that, Transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, and the Pope's supremacy ; and lastly, the claim that decision on matters of doctrine, on the Sacraments, or discipline, belonged not to a lay assembly like Parliament, but to the lawful episcopate.

And all these claims save the last were supported by both Universities. Moreover, special significance attached to this petition, inasmuch as when it was presented it was intended as a deliberate answer on the part of Convocation to the Bill of Supremacy which had just then been introduced into Parliament, and as the Church's challenge to the Queen.

With a view to this, the document was handed by the Lower House of Convocation to the bishops (Upper House), with a request to the latter to lay a copy of it before the House of Lords ; and, the Archbishop being dead, Bishop Bonner took charge of it and presented it to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, who returned no answer.

(b) *A Propaganda of Prejudice.*—Meanwhile, the Court preachers were busy at work sowing seeds of prejudice in the minds of the people to turn them against the Catholic faith.

"These men," said a foreign ambassador, writing from England, "who till now have been in Germany, sow such bad seed that, owing to their sermons

78 The Counter-Reformation in

hitherto in London alone, there are some ten sects of heretics utterly opposed one to the other, so this kingdom must come to ruin." Not a very encouraging description, and certainly not suggestive of "settlement." These preachers, then, after fighting furiously among themselves on the Continent, now returned to stir up strife among their brethren at home.

This was in March 1559, four months after Elizabeth's accession. "Nevertheless," the same writer goes on, "all over London they still persevere in saying the Masses and Divine Service as formerly, except in the Chapel Royal" . . . ; while, according to a Protestant writer of the time, the clergy as a body were on the Catholic side and could not be moved.

"We are thundering forth in our pulpits, and especially before our Queen Elizabeth, that the Roman Pontiff is truly Antichrist and that traditions are for the most part mere blasphemies. At length many of the nobility and vast numbers of the people began by degrees to return to their senses; but of the clergy none at all. For the whole body remain unmoved, standing as stiff as a rock" (Cox's letter to Weidner, May 20, 1559). And the Protestant writer of our own day lays it down that "nearly all the clergy, in fact, remained the Papists which they always were."

In all this we recognise force and skill and cunning; we see a people largely under the spell of a Tudor queen, and a parliament packed by that queen for purposes of her own, just as Henry had packed his parliaments of 1529 and 1536; we see the Reformation statutes of Henry and Edward restored, at least in their main lines, with feverish haste and within the compass of a few months, and, as before, by methods that cannot be defended; and all this not with the concurrence of that Church for whom this

"reform" was going forward, but in the face of strenuous opposition on the part of its leaders.

We read of "vast numbers of people," not crying aloud for revolutionary change, but "beginning" "by degrees" "to return to their senses," and this only after the Court preachers had been "thundering from their pulpits"; so that evidently it was a tough piece of work these Reformers had taken in hand on their return from their exile in Germany, and in spite of all this effort we read that on the whole body of the clergy they made no impression whatsoever.

All this we can see; but what we cannot see, even at this later stage of the movement, is a whole nation begging to be detached from the See of Rome, or groaning under the weight of the Mass and longing to be rid of it; and what certainly we cannot recognise is a condition of things that deserves to be termed a "settlement." Had the Archbishop of Canterbury—Cardinal Pole, for example—survived one year more, what would he have said to all this? And what did the only surviving archbishop, Dr. Heath of York, actually say?

In his speech in the Lords he declared that "by relinquishing and forsaking the See of Rome, we must forsake and fly from the unity of the Church, and by leaping out of Peter's ship, hazard ourselves to be overwhelmed and drowned in the waters of schisms, sects and divisions." And, as the distinguished monk Dr. Reynolds had said before him, "We were," he protested, "flying from all General Councils and all Canonical and Ecclesiastical Laws of the Church of England." Such was the view of the Primate of your province, my lord. But as in Henry's reign the Order of the Observants had been suppressed, and Fisher and More and the Carthusians murdered for withstanding the usurpations of Henry, so now all the bishops save Llandaff—who, however, yielded only at the last moment—were to be deprived

for standing firmly by the faith of which they were the appointed trustees (*Elizabethan Settlement*, by Norbert Birt, O.S.B.).

4. SIXTEENTH-CENTURY LITTER

When it is said that despite the revolutionary character of the changes under the Tudors, and the fact that they were carried through by force, nevertheless they were adopted deliberately and sanctioned, in fact, a hundred years later, in 1662, it is not enough merely to reply that in many respects they were not endorsed at all, but reversed; but we have to remember, also, that the point at which the process of reversal stopped is precisely where we should expect it to stop—that is, short of the Apostolic See; a condition we cannot appreciate unless we recognise the psychological aspect of the case and the prolonged effect of Henry's policy, with its shadow of Tudor tyranny always there to darken the sky in the centuries that followed—a shadow which lifted only very gradually as the years advanced, and which even to-day is by no means lifted quite.

And as we cannot see to write plainly in a dark room, and can take only restricted exercise in a relaxed climate, or can walk only a certain distance when chained to a particular spot, so during a great part of the sixteenth century, and throughout the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, men who had to read their faith somewhere and who could not say more than they could see were too cramped in their conditions to come completely into line with the Continent on the subject of the Mass, when such completeness signified conflict with the law of the land; or to broach so strange and startling a project as reunion with the Apostolic See—strange and startling not in itself but under the arbitrary and artificial conditions imposed by Henry in the first instance, and appealed

to and taken full advantage of by Edward VI and Elizabeth afterwards—with the penal statutes still hanging over their heads.

(a) *A False Entry in the Ledger.*—Controversial terms and whole controversial situations, which came up as the days advanced, were but part of an evil heritage men try now in vain to defend. And yet mere length of time cannot make wrong right, although the dead weight of custom and the tricks of memory may make us forget that the wrong is not right; and as with some false entry in a ledger, appearing on the debit instead of on the credit side of the account, merely to continue carrying it forward, or to disguise it under various items of our own invention, though the further it is forwarded the more danger there is of its being overlooked, does not make it any more correct.

But as from time to time the auditor's turn comes round, the accounts will be scrutinised more and more precisely, vouchers will have to be produced, deeds shown, and accurate references insisted upon.

One entry, for example, specially puzzles the auditor—"Bishop of Rome." Appearing as it does in the later part of the ledger for the first time, and reappearing constantly afterwards, it is stated to be "the same" as appears in the earlier pages under the description "Pope"; but to this explanation the auditor demurs, protesting that the change in the term is calculated to prejudice the case, and demanding some adequate authority for it; finally insisting upon the insertion of a precise statement in his own hand: "See note in margin of ledger under the years 1531, 1534, and 1559," the following explanation being repeated under each date, and referred to wherever the term recurs: "The sudden substitution of the term 'Bishop of Rome' for that of 'Pope' was due, I find, to a State Paper issued on the sole authority of the King, requiring all the friars in England to

repudiate the term 'Pope,' and to cease praying for him as such; the same obligation being fastened upon the nation at large. Also in the Act of Supremacy of 1534, passed in a packed parliament, the preamble states that the clergy in their Convocations consented to the Supreme Head formula, as if they had given an unreserved consent, which, I find, is precisely what they refused to do. See debates in Convocation under dates February 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; April 12, 29; May 13, 14, 15, 16, 1531-2. Not having found any sufficient authority for this change in the ledger, and indeed having convinced myself that the accounts have been tampered with, I cannot allow this to pass, and must insist on this item being entered in future on the proper side, and under the correct description.

"So with another term that I find altered, or omitted, the term 'Mass'; how did that change come? The change *came*, of course, I can see that; but how did it come? No, that won't do; I must ask for it to be restored. There is no evidence of any vestige of authority for such a change."

Only so can accounts be checked and adjusted, and accurate statements produced; and as the Pope was not therefore done away with because Henry chose to put his title away, so the Mass does not cease to be the Mass because some men will not call it by that name.

(b) *The Poison of Prejudice*.—Now the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are strewn with controversial terms, question-begging epithets and catchwords of this kind—dregs mostly of the sixteenth century, and not to be swallowed as good wine, but repudiated rather as poisonous matter conceived and born originally in sin, and no genuine spontaneous product of the Church herself; or, to change the figure, symptoms showing how successful Henry had been in driving in his wedge, and removing one by one the

adhesions which bound the Church in England to the Catholic Church outside; so much so, that as the years went on men woke up to find themselves labelled "Papist," or "Protestant"; distinguished Churchmen like Fisher and Laud, Baronius and Andrewes appearing in opposite camps, when they should have been together; and the question everywhere being asked, how can we forge arguments to justify our breach with Rome?—instead of enquiring carefully how it was that such a breach ever came to be.

Men of all parties then, just like men of all parties to-day, awoke to find themselves victims of a false policy, saddled with a false tradition, and handicapped by a false conscience—not of their own making. And under conditions such as these the unwinding of the Catholic skein, which in fact never stops just where it begins, will certainly continue, except in so far as efforts of a special kind are made to recover the clue and to restore it.

Thus Henry may, for purposes of his own, try to insist that there shall be no head bishop in one age, and the Puritans will ask why there should be any bishop at all, in the next; and if Luther denounces the Sacrifice, while holding to the doctrine of the Real Presence, in the Eucharist, others, encouraged by his revolt, will go a step further and repudiate both. The German reformer might feel himself at liberty to say that "all who co-operate and risk even their lives, possessions and honour in the destruction of the bishoprics and of the power of the bishops are dear children of God and the right sort of Christians"; but when a lot of ruffians, inflamed by his sermons, proceeded to demolish the houses of the Erfurt clergy, and to destroy the official records preserved in the Archiepiscopal buildings, he was distressed, and called it the work of the devil.

And so with the Bible, which was to be the one authority to appeal to: when it refused to be twisted

84 The Counter-Reformation in

so as to testify against the Church and to supplant it, when simple Bible teaching proved to be simply not the teaching of the Bible, men began to tamper with the text, and even to make short work with whole books of Scripture, as Luther did with the Epistle of St. James, denouncing it as an Epistle of straw, for teaching the doctrine of justification by works, and so contradicting the false doctrine of justification by faith only.

As Sir Thomas More said of this reformer, "Sometime if (the text) be too plain against him, then will he call it no Scripture, as he playeth with the pyste of St. James. And because the old holy Doctors be full and whole against him, he setteth them all at naught"; and we know how Melancthon sobbed when he saw what confusion had come into his own country by a too hasty repudiation of the Pope; another illustration of a remark I heard recently in reference to an aspect of the industrial question, that "the worst of acquiescing in an untruth is that it is sure to make trouble later on."

"One soweth and another reapeth"; the clergy were frightened, not into free consent, but into acquiescence in the falsehood of 1534, and their successors woke up to the revolution under Charles I in 1634; although by then the lie had had time to tell, and the diagnosis of the disease to become confused by the course and the curse of Tudor policy.

(c) *Coming Back to Consciousness*.—Some, at least, in those days must have begun to realise a saying of Aubrey de Vere, that after the Reformation the Church of England woke up to find herself caught in a net.

Or her case might be compared to that of a man lying stunned on the ground after a terrible but undeserved blow, regaining consciousness only gradually, and making fitful efforts to rise, who though struck again and set back from time to time, finds his way gradually to his knees, and then begins to

feel his feet, to rub his eyes, and to see where he is; a condition of things under which we do not expect a coherent statement. No one, for example, will deny that the reign of James I was an advance upon that of Elizabeth, or that the reign of Charles I represented an attempt to advance further; then comes another blow and a set back, and Church life is simply suppressed under the Commonwealth. At the Restoration the Church rises to her feet again, and has a stand-up fight for it at the Savoy Conference. Or to resume our former illustration, as the period of the Reformation recedes into the past, and as the weight of the Tudor statutes is gradually lifted and a truer perspective offers itself, the process of scrutiny becomes more urgent and exact.

Even under Elizabeth, in 1588, we find Bancroft preaching on the divine right of bishops; a little later comes the Hampton Court Conference, a fight which ended in a draw; then Montague comes forward to insist upon the doctrine of the Real Presence, of Absolution, and the practice of the Invocation of Saints, for which he is sharply rebuked at first, but vindicated afterwards. Again, Charles I, another victim of Tudor policy, confronted with the Puritans, a product of the conditions of anarchy in Frankfort and Geneva eighty years before, vainly endeavours to quell the mutiny with the clumsy weapon handed on to him by Elizabeth and James—a controversial device twisted now into the shape of a new doctrine, to be known as “the divine right of kings,” and described by historians as “the answer of English controversialists to the advocates of papal claims”; “papal claims” being, in fact, a caricature in terms of what had been separated off by Henry in 1534, and which his descendants were puzzled into proclaiming a hundred years later—a device that could never have occurred to More and Fisher, and that proved disastrous in the event to Charles.

86 The Counter-Reformation in

After the interval of Cromwell's rule, and the stormy reaction under Charles II, with her mental vision beginning once again to clear, the Church inserts a timid reference to the departed in her Communion Office, and Convocation secures something like six hundred changes in the Book of Common Prayer, including a Catholic explanation in the Ordinal, with stress upon the priestly aspect of the Ministry.

So great an advance, indeed, do these later changes disclose that one writer has been tempted even to quote the year 1662 as marking the end of the Reformation struggle in England; a struggle, he declares, which in its Romeward aspect was a comparatively easy effort, owing to the "numerical weakness" of Roman Catholics at that time; forgetting, however, that their "numerical weakness" was due to the operation of the penal laws; in other words, the weakness of a strong man with his hands tied behind him. At that very moment, for instance, a royal proclamation was issued ordering all Catholic priests to quit the kingdom; a device likely to leave any body of men in a condition of numerical weakness in this country, as such a proclamation against the Catholic party now, did the times allow of it, would no doubt have a similar effect upon them.

Charles II did not wish, he said, to be head of anything—which was perhaps for the best; while James II, after blundering into another crisis, made way for William, who was no Churchman at all, and for a theory of undenominational religion, destined later on to develop into the Latitudinarianism so characteristic of the eighteenth century.

By this time "Popery"—another subtle question-begging term, another caricature of the precipitation under Henry, which has ensnared the multitude of people ever since—"Popery" by this time was mistaken for a deadly foe, whose power must be crushed by a combination of all parties against it; and by an

Act of Parliament in 1700, imprisonment for life was the prescription for any "popish" bishop—prejudicial epithets were always at hand and punctual to the minute—priest, or Jesuit saying Mass or exercising his office within these realms—"unless he be an alien."

In the same year, also, it was enacted that no person educated in the "popish" religion should inherit land or property, unless he first take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and sign the declaration against transubstantiation and the invocation of Saints; so that in this way William, sometimes described as "the champion of civil and religious liberty," enabled the son of every Catholic parent if he so chose, by renouncing his faith, to dispossess his own father and to inherit his estate.

Of the eighteenth century not much need be said, except that a quarrel between the two Houses of Convocation, which had been set adrift with the rest of the Church, was employed as a pretext for suppressing that body from the year 1717 to 1850, thereby depriving Churchmen of their own parliament, and leaving them to wander like scattered sheep and to drift more or less into indifference, and into a suspicion of anything that could be called fervour, with only Parliament to represent their case.

That under such conditions the Church should have drifted more and more into Erastianism was inevitable, as it was also inevitable that the very notion of a visible Church within the State, though not of it, should fade gradually from her mind. From this condition of torpor, however, she was soon to be awakened, along with the rest of Europe, by the French Revolution, and later on by the Catholic Emancipation and Reform bills, which opened her eyes and opened, also, the way for the more advanced stage of that Counter-reformation we have been keeping in view throughout.

CHAPTER VI

REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION

AS in other movements of this kind, so in the years 1533 and 1833 the leaders in either case did not see at first how far their principles would carry them; and in attempting to show this and to establish the claim of the Oxford Movement as such to the title your lordship gives to its latest phase, I will set down in parallel columns a record in outline of the chief steps by which the Reformation and the Counter-reformation respectively made their advance; after which I shall direct special attention to three topics which may be termed turning-points or pivots on which these movements were made to turn.

THE REFORMATION 1533

1527. Henry enamoured of Anne Boleyn.

First steps towards divorce. Bishop Fisher strongly against it; other bishops advise abiding by the Pope's decision.

First Embassy to the Pope fails.

1528. Second embassy to the Pope fails.

Henry threatens to proceed in spite of the Pope.

Bishop Fisher: "Quod Deus

COUNTER- REFORMATION 1833

1827. May 30. *The Christian Year*, by John Keble.

Newman preaches first University Sermon: "I was then drifting in the direction of the Liberalism of the day. I was rudely awakened from my dream, at the end of 1827, by two blows—illness and bereavement."

1828. Newman becomes Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford: "I came out of my shell . . . I remained out of it till 1841."

conjunct homo non separet."

Commission appointed.

Effect of *Christian Year* upon Newman—

Two intellectual truths brought home to him:

1. The Sacramental System.

2. Probability, "as it is put to account by faith and love," embodied in Tract 8, and developed subsequently in University Sermons, Essay on Ecclesiastical Miracles, Development of Doctrine.

Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts almost without opposition.

1829-1836. Froude, Newman, Keble—Triple Alliance.

1529-1536. Reformation Parliament.

Packed for purposes of persecution with the help of Cromwell.

Cromwell, a man of no principles, whispers into Henry's ears, "A National Church, and defiance of the Pope as remedy against Rome."

1529. The Legate's Court.

Suit withdrawn to Rome owing to unfair haste in England.

King and Queen cited to plead, by proxy, before Court of the Rota at Rome.

Henry, foreseeing adverse verdict, consults the Universities on advice of Cranmer—a step repudiated by the Pope.

Bishop Fisher's solemn warning in House of Lords against persecution of the Church:—what comes of a nation losing its faith—*e.g.* Bohemia.

1829. Catholic Emancipation Bill passed. Opens public life to Roman Catholics. Can sit now in Parliament. Vote at Elections. Fill offices of State (with one or two exceptions). Can worship in peace.

90 The Counter-Reformation in

The King's vain attempt to coerce the Pope.

1529. June. Sir T. More's Dialogue, to stem the tide of heresy, in which he justifies the burning of Tyndale's New Testament—so corrupt and full of heresies.

For the terms "priest," "church," Tyndale substitutes "seniors," "congregation."

1530. Diet of Augsburg.

The Pope to Charles V: "You can promise a Council provided Protestants return to obedience."

Francis I of France mainly responsible for General Council not being held during pontificate of Clement VII.

Henry's proclamation, forbidding introduction of Bulls from Rome, purely personal act on part of King, apart from Parliament or Convocation.

1531. Nov. 28. Unanimous agreement in Roman Consistory that General Council be held.

Clergy heavily fined by Henry.

Supreme Head debate (see above, pp. 36, 37).

Catherine urges immediate papal sentence on Divorce.

King meddles in religious matters—encourages appeals to himself. Plays at headship. Examines a heretic from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Instructs preachers what to say. Orders circulation of

1830. Newman starts *History of Arians*.

"Look on this picture (Church life to-day), and on that (early century). Anger and scorn at Church's do-nothing perplexity. Liberalism, once it gets a footing, sure of victory. Need of second reformation."

Keble to edit Hooker's works.

Wyclif's heretical opinions on Church Government against the Pope.

Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, entreats King not to land the country in schism.

1532. Briefs drawn up on proposed Council sent to Germany, France and England.

German Protestants reject conditions.

"Supplication of the Commons" really emanating from the Court (see p. 40).

Affectionate letter from Pope to Henry urging him to take back Catherine, and warning, but withholding at present brief threatening excommunication.

1832. Newman and Froude to south of France.

Lyra Apostolica commenced at Rome.

"You shall know the difference now that I am back again."

"Deliverance wrought by the few, not by bodies but by persons."

Newman: "I have a work to do in England."

Great Reform Bill passed into law.

Dr. Arnold: "The Church, as it now stands, no human power can save."

REFORMATION BEGINS

Personages: — HENRY — CROMWELL — CRANMER — RIDLEY

Events immediately preparatory—

1532. Clergy, after protesting their oath to the Pope was legal, forced into submission (May 16, 1532).

Sir T. More resigns same day.

Clergy ordered everywhere to preach up the divorce.

Protests of congregations—St. Paul's and Salisbury.

A prior remarks: "Henry is Destructor not Defensor Fidei."

Archbishop Warham refuses to "marry" Henry to

COUNTER-REFORMATION BEGINS

Personages: —KEBLE—NEWMAN—FROUDE—PUSEY

1832. Keble: "What answer can we make henceforth to the partisans of the Bishop of Rome when they taunt us with being a merely Parliamentary Church?"

Newman: "Your movement started on the ground of maintaining ecclesiastical authority as opposed to the Erastianism of the State."

Froude: "My subject is the duty of contemplating the

Anne, and denies that Archbishops are bound to defer consecration till Bishop-elect has shown to the King Pope's Bulls.

Warham's solemn protest against all legislation in derogation of the Holy See. His death.

Cranmer to succeed him.

1533. Jan. 25. First definitive step towards separation of England from Rome: Henry "marries" Anne. Keeps this secret from Pope till Bulls received from Rome for Cranmer's consecration.

On receipt of Bull, King passes bill repudiating Pope's authority in England.

March 30. Cranmer consecrated.

In Public: swears obedience to Pope.

In Private: makes a reservation (see above, p. 42).

1533. 25 Henry VIII, cap. 20 (A.D. 1533): "At every avoidance of every archbishoprick or bishoprick within this realm . . . the King our Sovereign Lord, his heirs, etc. may grant to the prior and convent, or the dean and chapter of such archbishoprick or bishoprick . . . a licence under the Great Seal . . . to proceed to election of an archbishop, etc., with a letter missive, containing the name of the person which they shall elect and choose, by virtue of which

contingency of a separation between Church and State. A painful doubt is apt to suggest itself . . . whether we may not even now have to revert to first principles and lay our foundations afresh."

1833. The Church in danger. Riot at Bristol. Bishop's palace burnt. Bishops mobbed in the streets.

Bill for reducing Irish bishoprics by one-half, to amalgamate the ten sees so suppressed with the remainder, and to devote the income so saved to the payment of the Irish Church "cess," introduced, without any reference to the Church, into the House of Lords.

The above outrage immediate cause of Keble's sermon before judges at Oxford on "National Apostasy." Start of Oxford Movement.

1833. "We must as a sacred duty record our conviction that it is an intrusion."

Froude's conviction, according to Newman, that until the union of Church and State was snapped, Christian doctrine never could be safe.

Tracts begin in shape prescribed by Froude and Newman.

"Between these two points in our history (1829 and 1833) the balance of political power has been

licence the said dean, etc. shall with all speed and celerity in due form elect and choose the same person named in the letter missive . . . and none other." In every case the archbishops or bishops who carry out the consecration in question shall "invest and consecrate the said person . . . and to give and use to him such pall benedictions and ceremonies . . . without suing, procuring, etc. any bulls, briefs, etc. at the said See of Rome, or by the authority of that in any behalf." Under penalty of praemunire, quoting expressly 25 Edward III, and 16 Richard II.

1533. May.—Henry, acting through Cranmer, frightens Convocation into a decision in favour of divorce.

Tunstall (northern province), Fisher (southern), oppose.

King forbids Catherine to use title of Queen or to communicate with her only child—Mary.

Cranmer's Court — Dunstable.

Catherine declines to appear. Sentence against Catherine; wording dictated by Henry himself.

"Marriage" with Anne "confirmed."

Pope, hearing of this, declares it is not to be tolerated.

July 11.—Pope's sentence against divorce.

turned against the Church of England. If, then, the duty of resistance belongs to any one, it belongs to us" (Froude).

"The present system has come down to us from the Act, A.D. 1533, 25 Henry VIII, cap. 20."

Congé d'élire: "The Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire—25 Edward III and 16 Richard II—were atrocious statutes."

"The penalties of these statutes are, as the law of England now stands, transferred from those against whom they were originally enacted to any Archbishop, or Dean and Chapter, who dare act on the plain dictates of conscience in refusing to elect or consecrate state favourites of whose principles they disapprove."

"To state it (the 'persecuting law') most nakedly is to expose it most forcibly. The present union of Church and State consists in State Protection and State Interference" (Froude).

Hurrell Froude:—"Kings of the earth have pursued a course of systematic aggression, not merely against the Holy See itself, but against the whole Church. Particularly the introduction of an idea unknown to antiquity, viz. that of a 'Supreme Head of the Church.'"

St. Thomas Becket, writing

- December.—Bull of Excommunication delivered to Henry by Cromwell.
1534. March 23.—Sentence at Rome—Catherine is lawful wife of Henry.
- Act of Succession—people made to swear to it, much against their will.
- On receipt of sentence in England, anti-papal statutes published.
- Preachers commanded to preach against Pope and for divorce.
- Fisher and More summoned before Cranmer, Audeley and others. After much bullying, are willing to swear to succession, not to preamble disparaging Holy See and the first marriage.
- Becket's shrine despoiled—"a peculiar scandal."
- Henry decides Becket is to be regarded as "rebel."
- November.—26 Henry VIII, cap. 1. The Supremacy Act. Adopting the language of the Commons' petition—a petition procured dishonestly. Convocations libelled in the preamble (see above, pp. 48, 49).
1535. January to July, "seven months of appalling executions, to enforce the new (usurped) authority."
- Statute of Treasons. High treason not to acknowledge Henry supreme head.
- to the Pope: "Be pleased to read over the Bill of those reprobate usages which he (Henry II) claims against the Church, and on account of which I am banished; and your Holiness will see clearly that before I made any stand, he had by these same usages stopped the mouths of all who would appeal to your Court; prohibited all ecclesiastical persons from crossing the sea till an oath had been enacted from them; suffocated the rights of elections; drawn all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, before his own courts, and run his dagger into every liberty of the Church."
- "Certain it is that if the usages he demands obtain force, the authority of the Apostolic See in England will either vanish altogether, or be reduced to a minimum, as indeed it would have been long since if we may trust the memory of this generation, and the writings of the past, unless Princes had been checked by the Church of Canterbury."—Quoted in Froude's *Remains*.
1835. Dr. Pusey now fully associated with Movement. Tract on Baptism. Newman: "He at once gave us a position and a name."
- Newman at work on *The*

Bishops to surrender all Bulls received from Rome.

Royal Visitation of all Churches, etc., by Cromwell, the King's Vicegerent.

Bishops required to renounce all obedience to the See of Rome.

Circular issued for apprehension of preachers who maintained the Pope's jurisdiction.

German Protestants at Smalkeld reject Pope's proposal to hold General Council. Henry stands by the Protestants.

Butchery of Carthusians.

Pope's name to be erased from Statute-books by Henry's order.

Fisher and More executed.

Neither Parliament or Convocation sat.

1536. Charles V. visits Rome. Complete agreement with Pope in favour of General Council.

Lay Vicar-General Cromwell sits next Archbishop in Convocation. Signs documents.

June 2.—Bull calling patriarchs, bishops, etc., to assemble for Council at Mantua (on May 23, 1537).

Bill passed showing reasons why King should not appear at General Council.

No Parliament or Convocation met again until end of April 1539.

Prophetical Office of the Church.

1836. Keble: "We agree with Rome about our major premises, our differences are about the minor" (Letter to Pusey).

February.—Froude dies.

September.—Keble's famous sermon on "Tradition" in Winchester Cathedral, an hour and a half long. "I thundered it out more emphatically almost than ever I did anything in my life." "Scripture and tradition—two streams flowing down from the mountain of God."

Pusey starts Library of Fathers, on the ground that ignorance of them accounts for much Protestant opposition.

1837. Newman's famous Lectures on "Prophetical Office of the Church."
1838. Newman's Pamphlet on *The Real Presence*—space regarded as subjective idea of our minds.
Froude's *Remains* published. Martyrs' Memorial at Oxford—a counterblast.
1839. Newman's first serious doubt of Anglicanism. Chooses Froude's Breviary—keepsake. Writes Tract on it.
1841. Newman's protest against Jerusalem Bishopric. On his deathbed as regards Anglican Church. Tract 90. They cease. But no stopping of Tracts will stop the "Movement."
1543. "The King's Book." Transubstantiation taught. Three men suffer death for mocking at the Eucharist.
1843. Palmer withdraws from Movement. His book *Narrative*, etc.
Newman's last sermon to University. Resigns St. Mary's. Retires into Lay Communion.
Pusey's Sermon on the Eucharist condemned unheard. He is suspended for two years.
1544. Bull "Laetare Hierusalem" convoking Council for March 15, 1545, at Trent. (Council convoked in 1536 had been delayed through war between Charles and Francis.)
1844. Ward's reply to Palmer, "Ideal of a Christian Church."
1545. Last Parliament of Henry VIII.
First formal session of Council of Trent in Choir of Cathedral, December 13.
1845. Newman received into the Roman Church.
St. Saviour's, Leeds, consecrated.
Persecution of the Oxford School.

- Aim of Council : i. Church's answer to heretics. ii. Thorough reform of abuses.
1547. Henry dies suddenly.
1549. First Prayer Book.
Made only legal service book by penal statute.
Use enforced.
Practically no sanction from Convocation. No debate.
"The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass."
Serious rising in Devonshire, suppressed with difficulty by German mercenaries.
1550. Some Catholic bishops deposed in favour of others more congenial to the corrupt Council.
Ridley's grave irregularities (see p. 66).
Bishop Gardiner proves doctrine of Real Presence is doctrine of Church of England.
1849. Appeal by Rev. G. C. Gorham to Privy Council. Community of Holy, Undivided Trinity founded in Oxford.
1850. Judgment pronounced in favour of Gorham. Large public meeting of protest in London. Keble : "It seems so far clear that we must all in our places protest." Privy Council's action an illustration of the anomalous position now of Church and State.
Two short pamphlets by Keble maintains "Royal Supremacy under Henry VIII and Elizabeth" not meant to sanction interference of State in matters of doctrine.
Convocation revived.
1851. Pusey inhibited from preaching owing to adapted Roman Catholic devotions.
Bishop of Oxford nervous of Pusey's teaching on Propitiatory Sacrifice and Confession.
1551. Royal Commission to deprive Heath and Day of their bishoprics.

98 The Counter-Reformation in

1552. Second Prayer Book (Edward VI). Word "Mass" dropped from title.
- "Never had the slightest claim to ecclesiastical authority, and cannot even plead acceptance by the Church."
- Bishop Ridley's visit to Mary at Hunsdon :—
- Mary : "That is not God's word now which was God's word in my father's days . . ." "As for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them ; I never did nor ever will do."
- "For your gentleness to come and see me I thank you ; but for your offering to preach before me I thank you never a whit."
- Act of Uniformity to compel attendance at Reformed services.
1553. Edward VI dies ; Mary's Accession. A corrupt council goes its way, and foreign mercenaries "sent scampering over sea for their lives."
1554. Title of "Supreme Head" laid aside.
- Heresy laws re-enacted in order to suppress plots and rebellions.
- Nation reunited to Rome.
1555. Marian persecutions begin. The Queen, perplexed by problem before her, tries to stamp out rebellion and heresy, and falls into grave error of persecution.
1852. Inhibition withdrawn.
1853. Pusey's sermon on "The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist."
- Archdeacon Denison's sermons on same subject in Wells Cathedral : "Worship due to Christ present in Holy Eucharist."
1854. Denison delated to Archbishop of Canterbury, after refusal from two diocesan bishops to proceed.
- The Guardian* writes against any attack on "The Real Presence."

1556. Another formidable plot to murder Mary.
Religious question complicated and prejudiced by relations with Philip, and foreign wars.
1558. Death of Mary. Accession of Elizabeth. Her failure to notify her accession to the Pope. Pope willing to countenance her succession if she continue Catholic religion. No change at first in churches.
1559. January.—Famous Petition of Convocation in favour of full Catholic teaching on Apostolic See and Mass.
Supported by Universities except in last clause (see p. 77).
Ignored by Parliament.
Supremacy and Uniformity Acts passed.
All bishops, save Llandaff, who gives way at last moment, refuse oath.
Archbishop of York's warning as to effect of separation from Roman See.
Court preachers poison minds of people against Catholic faith.
1562. 5 Elizabeth, cap. 1;
1856. Keble supports Denison.
Sentence against Denison.
Protest by Keble and others, reaffirming the Catholic doctrine.
1857. *Eucharistical Adoration*, treatise by Keble, affirming full Catholic doctrine.
Bishop Forbes of Brechin in a charge teaches Catholic doctrine on the Eucharist. Keble stands by him.
Association for Promoting Unity of Christendom started.
1858. Scottish bishops censure Bishop Forbes.
1859. The Bishop is formally presented to the Synod.
1860. The Bishop condemned by General Synod. Diocesan Synod vindicates him.

claims same authority for Elizabeth as under Supremacy Act for Henry. Showing how Henry's attitude supplied fulcrum.

A Convocation manufactured artificially, all Catholic members having been forced aside, grovels to Parliament as well as to Crown.

Further attempts to meddle with English religion on part of Calvin.

1568. Puritans come to front with system mainly negative—develop gradually into formidable foes of Church.

1570. Pope's Bull of Excommunication nailed against Bishop of London's palace at Fulham. The conse-

1863. *The Church Times* started.

1864. The Vatican Council (1870) first broached "as an extraordinary remedy for the extraordinary needs of the Christian world."

1865. Pusey's Eirenicon pleading for mutual explanations—Rome and England.

1867-8. *Commentary on Thirty-nine Articles*, by Bishop Forbes.

Newman's comment: "The lamented Dr. Forbes . . . was suffered to repeat the very same statements without protest which were considered so disingenuous and disgraceful in Tract 90. *Praevalt veritas.*"

1869. Pusey's Second Eirenicon.

W. J. E. Bennett prosecuted for teaching Catholic doctrine on the Eucharist.

1870. Pusey's Third Eirenicon.

Newman's comment: "No one who desires the union

quence of Henry's policy reiterated by Elizabeth and persisted in, in spite of the leaders of the Church in 1559.

Plots against Elizabeth's life as there had before been plots against the life of Mary.

of Christendom after its many and long-standing divisions, can have any other feeling than joy, my dear Pusey, at finding . . . that you see your way to make definite proposals. . . ."

Mackonachie, first Vicar of St. Alban's, Holborn, suspended for his teaching on the Eucharist. Vatican Council.

1576. Elizabeth using her usurped authority, requires Archbishop Grindal to suppress his Scripture study meetings with the clergy, and on his refusal sequesters him and shuts him up in his palace till his death, seven years later.

1876. Dr. I. B. Dykes, Vicar of St. Oswald's, Durham, breaks down and dies in consequence of Bishop's persecution—refusing to license curate if latter wore coloured stoles, or took eastward position.

1581. 23 Elizabeth, cap. 1., makes it treason to convert or to be converted to the religion of Rome. Penalties for saying Mass and against Nonconformists.

1877-1882. Arthur Tooth, T. Dale, R. W. Enraght, S. F. Green, and J. Bell-Cox were imprisoned for Catholic teaching within the compass of these five years.

1583. Whitgift succeeds Grindal as Archbishop. Nonconformity made "almost as penal as 'Popery.'"

Roman Catholics almost universally loyal nevertheless.

The Puritan mind at its worst: "Roman Catholics all wrong, and those who repudiated them all right."

Serious wrangling over trifles.

1588. Archbishop Bancroft's sermon on "Divine Right of Bishops."

1590. Dr. Bilson, Warden of Winchester, writes a treat-

1890. The Lincoln Judgment. Agnus Dei allowed, etc.

ise on Church Government, distinguishing the Episcopal from any other form of government.

1897. Famous answer of the two Archbishops on subject of the Presence and the Sacrifice in the Eucharist—addressed to the Pope.

1915. Formal sanction in Convocation to the principle of a sacrifice offered to God upon an altar—a permitted alternative; vestments allowed. Re-affirmed in Convocation in 1917, and again in 1919.

I will now select from the above three topics which I venture to think provide turning-points for the purpose of reunion.

I. ERASTIANISM

It is the theory and policy of Erastianism, the alternative condition forced upon this Church and country, not originated by them, that has stereotyped our contradictions and cheated us so far into attempting the impossible task of which you speak—the task of working with two compasses instead of one; a theory which has, therefore, been opposed consistently by the leaders of the Counter-reformation.

According to this theory, which we see in full operation under Edward VI, and which cannot be made to blend with the Catholic theory, the Church, instead of being regarded as an independent body, with rights and privileges of its own, is viewed merely as a department of the State and a creature of the Government, and, as such, was forced in the sixteenth century to sanction everything Henry chose to prescribe; and this was, in fact, what Cromwell had in mind when he whispered so persistently into Henry's

ear the suggestion of a "National Church independent of Rome"; and on this policy also Cranmer took his stand, or he would not have been able to stand at all; for, after becoming Archbishop of Canterbury under false pretences, he subsided into the position of a helpless tool in Henry's hands, a tool for driving in the wedge, inserted already by the King's own hand, between the bishops of this country and their brethren, the bishops abroad; between the daughter Church in England and her mother, the Church of Rome; thus leaving the King and Cromwell, and, later on, the corrupt Council under Edward, to work their own will on the Convocations, to squander the faith of the people, and, in particular, to unsettle the doctrine of the Mass.

And the Oxford leaders, when they set themselves deliberately to confront and to withstand this policy, soon found that the Bible view and the view of antiquity to which Cranmer appealed was contradicted by Cranmer himself; soon found, that is, that according to Scripture no one save our Lord Himself can rightly speak of "My Church," and that the term "Churches" is employed to signify only the various groups and centres of Christians who are members of that Church.

And so is it also in the teaching of St Paul: the Church of God is one body or corporation, communicating its corporate nature to the bishop first, and in due course later on to the parish priest, each of these ministers becoming in his measure the *persona ecclesiae*;—a condition carrying with it certain rights and privileges, particularly the right to elect its own pastors.

And so the Church appears in its earliest years in this country, as may be seen in the very first canon of the Council held at Barsted in 697, as well as in subsequent statutes of the realm; all of which recognise this corporate character, claiming in the very first article the fullest freedom for the Church—

"Let the Church be free, and enjoy its judgements and revenues," etc.

Or again, as in the famous Magna Carta in 1215—

"First, that the English Church be free, and shall have her whole rights and her liberties unhurt;" special reference being made afterwards to her freedom in the election of her pastors.

And so on in subsequent statutes up to the time of the Reformation; the words varying somewhat, but the substance never.

For example, under Edward III—

"That Holy Church have her liberties;" and again, towards the close of that reign, "That Holy Church have all her liberties."

Under Richard II—

"That Holy Church shall have and enjoy all her rights, liberties, and franchises wholly and without blemish," the same words being renewed in three subsequent years.

While in the sixth year they run—

"That our Holy Mother, the Church of England, have all her liberties unhurt, and the same shall freely enjoy and use."

Under Henry IV—

"First, that Holy Church have and enjoy all her rights, liberties, and franchises entirely, and without imblemishing."

Such is the refrain throughout: "*Ecclesia Anglicana Libera sit*"; such freedom signifying, not, as it has strangely been interpreted to mean, freedom from the Church of Rome, but freedom on the part of the Church of England, in full communion with the Church of Rome, from interference on the part of the State.

And in those early days, when laymen were all of them Churchmen, and when the earls and the bishops sat together, "it is hard to say," as Johnson declares in his "Canons," "whether those assemblies were

synods or parliaments"; what was decreed by the Church as a canon being also enacted by Parliament as a law.

And while adjustments were needed, of course, from time to time, as distinctions between temporals and spirituals came out to view, encroachments, as we are beginning now to see, were by no means merely from the side of the Church; on the contrary, while it suited Henry to take advantage of certain exactions in the plane of temporals, not merely to push the Pope back, but also to push him out altogether, the great battles fought out by St. Anselm with William II, and by St. Thomas Becket with Henry II, show how the influence of the King served gradually to encroach even upon such Church liberties as were part and parcel of the constitution; and, especially in the matter of electing Church pastors, what had been conceded at first out of deference to the King's wishes came gradually to be claimed by him as a right and appealed to as a custom of the Crown—a condition which caused the trouble in the case of Becket.

For in that famous dispute neither party spoke of "laws," while both referred expressly to "usages"; and in these "usages" Becket believed he saw the beginning of serious trouble to the Church.

"Because we do not absolutely pledge ourselves," he wrote to William of Pavia, "to usages some of which void the authority of the Apostolic See and extinguish the liberty of the Church, the King departed without concluding peace;" while Becket's letter to the Pope is stronger still, for "certain it is," he writes, "that if the usages he demands obtain force, the authority of the Apostolic See in England will either vanish altogether or be reduced to a minimum, as indeed it would have been long since . . . unless princes had been checked by the Church of Canterbury;" and after allowing for the

106 The Counter-Reformation in

conditions of those times we can see now in view of what happened under Henry—"by their fruits ye shall know them"—that the substance of Becket's contention was just, and that what he died for, in the main, as Henry himself appeared to realise when he put his hand to the spoliation of Becket's shrine, was nothing less than the liberty of the Church (see "Essays on Religion," Inaugural Address by Dr. Manning, 1868-9).

Now what Froude, Keble, and Newman thought and wrote on this aspect—that is, on the relations of Church and State and the evil of Erastianism—point to nothing short of a Counter-reformation; Hurrell Froude especially contending not merely that the conditions which Hooker had in view when he wrote his great work on ecclesiastical polity had disappeared, making "another reformation" necessary, and that "the foundation would have to be laid again"; but after quoting Gibbon's judgement that "secular princes enjoyed in the primitive Church no authority whatever over the spiritual functions of the meanest officers of the Church," insisting with characteristic directness that "Kings of the earth have pursued a course of systematic aggression, not merely against the Holy See itself, but against the whole Church; particularly the introduction of the vain idea unknown to antiquity, viz. that of "a supreme Head of the Church." "The ground," he declared, "had been prepared during the years 1340 to 1500 for the tyranny of Henry VIII," while the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire, in particular 25 Edw. III and 16 Rich. II, the very statutes Henry appeals to in support of his policy of the *Congé d'élire* (25 Henry VIII, cap. 20)—these Froude denounces frankly as "atrocious statutes." "The penalties of these statutes," he says, "are, as the law of England now stands, transferred from those against whom they were originally enacted, to any archbishop or dean

and chapter who dare act on the plain dictates of conscience in refusing to elect or consecrate State favourites of whose principles they disapprove."

"To state it most nakedly," he writes, "is to express it most forcibly."

Froude recognised, too, the changes, "not less real because gradual," that had occurred between 1600 and 1833; changes which have been developed further still, of course, in the last eighty years; and that whereas in Tudor times, when members of parliament were all of them nominally Churchmen, it was not an absurdity to recognise in that assembly a lay synod of the Church, all this is changed now that the supremacy of kings has resolved itself into the supremacy of parliaments, the appellate jurisdiction which was vested in the Crown being vested now in the electoral constituency, whereby the change in the constitution "is by itself effacing the whole theory of the Tudor supremacy."

Nor was Newman less plain when in after years, on reviewing the course of the movement in 1850, he declared that its principles were definite. "It has been formed," he said, "on one idea, which has developed into a body of teaching . . . that idea, or first principle, was ecclesiastical liberty; the doctrine which it especially opposed was, in ecclesiastical language, the heresy of Erastus, and in political, the royal supremacy. The object of its attack was the Establishment, considered simply as such."

And all this finds its sanction and support in the language of Keble's famous sermon, which is understood as the start of the whole Movement. How, he asked, were we to answer the taunt that "we are a mere parliamentary Church"? How were Churchmen at that time, 1833, to "continue their communion with the Church established . . . without any taint of those Erastian principles on which she is now avowedly to be governed"?

2. TRADITION

In turning now to our second topic, we find the Catholic clue of tradition was lost mainly under the pressure of those Erastian conditions we have been considering ; and as men began to awake to this in the beginning of the last century it is no matter for surprise to find Van Mildert broaching in a very tentative way the subject of tradition in his Bampton Lectures of 1815, and Hawkins of Oriel treating it more fully three years later in a sermon which, Newman assures us, impressed him greatly, "opening up a wide field of thought," and leading him at once to withdraw his support from the Bible Society. But when, some twenty years later, John Keble treated the same topic in his famous sermon in Winchester Cathedral (1836), under the title, "Primitive Tradition recognised in Holy Scripture," the congregation of clergy—it was on the occasion of an Archidiaconal Visitation—appears to have been mystified at the time, while almost the entire bench of bishops was amazed and scandalised afterwards ; another illustration of the deadening effect of custom where Catholic clues have been allowed to drop, and of the courage it required in any one at that time to attempt to recover them.

Nearly every paragraph in the sermon shows how conscious Keble was of this. And in the one or two passages I shall quote, the words I have put in italics will help us to see it—

"If we will be impartial we cannot hide it from ourselves that His unwritten Word, if it can be anyhow authenticated, must necessarily demand the same reverence from us, and for exactly the same reason, because it is His Word."

Again : "Now that it has pleased our gracious God to bestow on us, over and above, the use of His written Word, *can we be justified in slighting the*

original gift, on pretence of being able to do without it?"

With which passage compare Bossuet's famous words: "Jesus Christ, having laid the foundation of His Church by preaching, the unwritten Word was the first rule of Christianity, and when the writings of the New Testament were added, this unwritten Word did not on that account lose its authority, which makes us receive with equal veneration all that was ever taught by the Apostles, whether by writing or by word of mouth, as St. Paul himself has expressly declared."

"*I do not see how we can be wrong in inferring . . .*" Keble goes on. "Modern writers are apt to neglect. . . . We may now, I think, *venture to assume . . .*" All this is the language of one who knows his hearers will be startled by the exhibition of a clue which had been simply out of sight and almost lost for some length of time. And the language of the bishops bears out this impression. "All this," declares one in his Charge, "is sufficiently alarming . . . This attempt to set up Catholic tradition . . . overturns the grand peculiarity . . . of the Reformed Churches." In other words, "all this involves nothing short of a Counter-reformation." What the good bishop would have said if he had heard Scripture itself sneered at in our pulpits as it sometimes is sneered at to-day, we cannot easily imagine. But here again, in this aspect of tradition, is it not rather that men had lost the clue, than that, with all the evidence before them, they had repudiated it? And are we not coming now to see that Scripture itself is a part of tradition, and must not be set over against it? Are we not coming to see, as our Evangelical brethren would allow with us, that since it is the function of the Holy Spirit to testify to the things of God, that is, to see after the soul of man by seeing that he gets the good that God has to give him, it must follow that such agents and

instruments as the Holy Spirit is pleased to employ will receive sufficient assistance to save them from making mistakes when proclaiming doctrine necessary to salvation—such assistance, where they are writers of Scripture, being recognised as inspiration, and later on, where the Church is transmitting faithfully what has been handed down to herself, as infallibility.

Amid all the confusion in teaching which surrounds us at present, then, earnest minds will turn more and more to that Divine Witness in their attempt to recover the clue of tradition; they will go to school again under the Holy Spirit, will endeavour to ascertain what the term signifies in its most scientific sense, and will come to see that it is not opposed to Scripture, but rather includes it; tradition being “a living institution with an active and a passive side to it; that is, as at once a living authority that hands down revealed truth, and also as that revealed truth so handed down; Scripture, in this view, being part of that tradition in its passive sense.” And once we have accepted the principle of infallibility as being bound up with that of tradition and involved in the very notion of revelation, the atmosphere may clear sufficiently for us to recognise the further aspect of the Pope’s infallibility as merely the domestic side of the same question. Here again (see Schanz, *Apology*) Hurrell Froude was equally strong with Keble on the duty and necessity of recovering this clue: “It appears to me plain,” wrote Froude, “that in all matters that seem to us indifferent, or even doubtful, we should conform our practices to those of the Church, which has preserved its traditionary practices unbroken. We cannot know about any seemingly indifferent practice of the Church of Rome that it is not a development of the Apostolic *ῥῆθος*; and it is to no purpose to say that we can find no proof of it in the writings of the six first centuries; they must find a disproof if they would do anything.”

This would be an illustration of Mr. G. K. Chesterton's contention, a contention which applies especially to revelation, that every great revolution in the history of the world has been a restoration, the restoration in this instance taking the shape of a Counter-reform.

3. THE MASS

In the case of the Mass, which is my third topic, and the subject in a special sense of your lordship's pamphlet, it is easy, I think, to discern, in the teaching of certain men and in the turn of certain moments, the stages of that recovery which we are describing now as the Counter-reformation, a recovery which could not be otherwise than gradual under the circumstances we have been considering, with the very elements of a right judgement away from men's minds for long periods of time, and the threats of the law constraining them. When Bishop Wordsworth of St. Andrew's, then, declared the mature views of John Keble on the Mass to be "new," the real meaning was that they were more advanced than his own, as being the outcome of a more profound study, and realised under conditions of comparative freedom unknown to the two previous centuries. For when Alexander Knox could write, even in 1816, some seventeen years before the Movement began, that "dread of transubstantiation has made the Sacrament a ceremony," and that "to ward off infallibility every man has been encouraged to shape a creed for himself," going on to ask, "shall this present negligence and insensibility always prevail?"—it is plain that the smoke cloud of the penal statutes was continuing to darken the horizon even after those statutes themselves had almost disappeared, and that men were still groping somewhat in the dark, with some of the elements of Catholic teaching still away.

But once they found themselves free to follow

the Fathers, that soon came to pass which an old clergyman had prophesied towards the close of the eighteenth century. "The day will come," he had said, "when those great doctrines now buried will be brought out to the light of day, and then the effect will be quite fearful."

"Consider," wrote Newman in 1839, "that at the present moment, in the three great literary countries of Europe—Germany, France, and England—translations of the Fathers, in series, are now in course of publication by a simultaneous and apparently independent movement in each place." Or again: "The reading public is coming under the influence of notions and convictions very different from those which have been fashionable of late." And this became evident at the outset, one reader of the earliest of the tracts not being able to make up his mind whether he held the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession or not; while another wrote to a newspaper to point out that the term "Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist," referred to in a tract, was evidently a false print for "Sacrament." But the minds of the leaders—of Keble, Froude, Pusey and Newman—deep students, all of them, of every subject they touched, were clear, and their convictions on the doctrine of the Real Presence so firm that nothing could shake them.

Once the claim to study and to go by the Fathers had been established—and this was by no means an easy task at the first—it was no longer a question of what good Bishop Wilson had believed, or how Bishop Wordsworth viewed the question, or even what was laid down by the Reformers, but rather what was the actual teaching of that antiquity to which all alike professed to appeal; but as, one after another, men not merely recovered this clue, but also held it up for others to see, it soon became evident that there was to be a fight for it; and so by the year 1853, when Archdeacon Denison

preached his two sermons in August and November in Wells Cathedral, declaring that "worship is due to the Real, though invisible and Supernatural Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, under the form of Bread and Wine," he was reported to his Bishop; and when the latter, and his successor after him, declined to take proceedings, the question was referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who decided to preside in the Diocesan Court at Bath and to try the case.

In the Event, the Archdeacon was condemned to be deprived of his vicarage and archdeaconry, a decision afterwards to be reversed, only on a technical ground, by the Provincial Court, the reversal being confirmed subsequently on the same ground by the Privy Council.

But what is more to the point is what grew out of the case, namely, two famous treatises on the doctrine of the Real Presence, by John Keble and Dr. Pusey, entitled respectively, *On Eucharistical Adoration*, and *The Real Presence* in the Fathers, to which reference has been made already in a previous chapter. Soon afterwards, in 1857, a protest against the Denison Judgment was signed by Keble and other distinguished leaders such as Pusey, Isaac Williams, Carter and Neale. Again, it was for teaching this doctrine that W. J. E. Bennett was prosecuted in 1869; on the same ground also Mackonachie, first Vicar of St. Albans, Holborn, was suspended in 1870: and on the same ground, directly or indirectly, that Arthur Tooth, T. P. Dale, R. Enraght, S. F. Green, and J. Bell-Cox were imprisoned, all within the compass of five years—1877 to 1882.

And subsequently, in 1890, we have the Lincoln Judgement, with its formal sanction to the singing of the Agnus Dei in the service; while some seven years later, in 1897, came the famous Answer of the two Archbishops, addressed to the Pope, recognising the doctrine of the Real Presence and of the

Sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist, until at length we come to the official sanction and recognition of the Convocations of 1915, 1917, and now quite recently again, of 1919, to which your lordship demurs (see S. L. Ollard's most interesting account in *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, and, for some very imperfectly realised positions of John Keble, reference should be made to the Life of the latter by the Hon. Edward Wood).

So it has come to pass that the Movement has realised for itself a constitutional course, beginning where all wholesome movements for reform should begin, with the witness of individuals among the inferior clergy, who had to suffer persecution and in many instances imprisonment for the truth's sake, and finding its way gradually to a seat of authority and a centre. And thus, unlike the heretical teaching under Elizabeth and Edward VI, the Catholic doctrine, which may have to be tolerated for a time before it can triumph, has won its way so far in spite of force, and not by means of it.

This is not, I think, an unfair statement, my Lord; for, as we have seen, under Elizabeth it was by ignoring and depriving the prelates of the Church that the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist was pushed out, while under Edward VI it was sheer lawlessness and brute force that crushed it out, as it had before been sheer passion on Henry's part that pushed out the Pope, the latter policy being the direct consequence of the earlier.

Nor, in a matter of revelation, can such a counter-movement be denounced as reactionary.¹ On the contrary, that charge lies truly against the opposite policy, which attempts to refurbish the rusty and worn-out tool of Erastianism in the name of an ecclesiastical supremacy which, in spite of appearances, "has in fact perished by the law of mortality, which consumes all earthly things."

¹ See above, p. III.

CHAPTER VII

REUNION

YOU say in your pamphlet, my Lord, that "we cannot effectually press a man to be a communicant when the Church cannot really tell him what the Communion means," and that an immense advantage is thereby given to the Church of Rome, which "does not say 'Yea and Nay,' but has its very definite 'Yea.'"

Certainly ; but should not the "Reformers," and particularly the Council under Edward have thought of that at the time, and not left it to perplex us afterwards?

I. YEA AND NAY

In those days the distinction and the terms of the distinction alike were plain, viz. "the old religion" on the one hand, and "the new opinions" on the other. When was it, then, that the distinction ceased to be plain, and when did "the new opinions" claim to supplant "the old religion"?

If, as you say, we are suffering now, if, as you might have said, we have been suffering ever since Tudor times—Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and the entire body of the Laity—from lack of discipline, and if it is impossible to extricate the Church in this country with "two compasses pointing in opposite directions," how long have we had two compasses instead of one, and how did we come by them?

In attempting to answer this I have thought it best to put my finger upon a fundamental fact, viz.

that the Church of England's mind was changed for her, that the prejudice against Rome and Catholicity was created artificially in the first instance for a wicked and not for a wise purpose, that England was shut off from Catholic conditions and confined for purposes of reform within her own country, that the freedom of which the Church was robbed then is by no means recovered even yet; and that the confusion on all sides of us to-day is due mainly to the initial and iniquitous step on the part of Henry.

We shall have gained something in this discussion, then, if we tie it down mainly to a comparatively short compass of time—say 1527 to 1547—and recognise within that compass, the real seat of all the mischief. Let that brief but pregnant period be faced, until men come to recognise the pivot, fulcrum, turning-point—however we care to describe it—just there; until the great Oxford Movement appears in its true light as a movement for a Catholic and therefore a Counter-reformation, and for an enterprise of reunion, which must not rest until it has brought us back into full communion with the Apostolic See from which Henry dared to separate us.

2. HISTORY REVISED

Before I bring this Reply, then, to a close I will recall one or two more facts in order to force its argument on our attention, and to show that the motive which was unmistakable was not religious.

Henry had earned, we know, the title of Defender of the Faith from the Pope himself, and for defending the claims of the Pope—even to the extent of rejecting Sir Thomas More's advice that he should moderate his statement of these claims, and up to the last moment, while still hoping against hope for a verdict from the Pope in favour of his divorce, amid all his rage and rudeness, and when he and the Cardinal

alike were becoming desperate he could still be profuse in his promises of support to the papacy ;— a fact which is plain from Wolsey's letter to Sir Gregore Casale, his confidential agent in Rome so late as December 6, 1527 :

“ Among all the arguments that I can think of,” writes the Cardinal, “ none is stronger than the friendship with which I have inspired the King towards his holiness—a friendship which will be permanent unless some occasion shall be offered for alienating the King's mind. . . . You shall represent to him (the Pope) . . . that the King's friendship is of the utmost moment to the Pope as his enmity is fraught with the most terrible consequences. . . . I urge him (the Pope) by obliging the King to bind him also to the protection of the Holy See. . . .” In other words, unless Henry's request can be granted the “ terrible consequence ” will be the wrenching of England from its union with that see by Henry's hand, for Henry's purpose, and without any regard whatsoever, to the convictions of Henry's people. And if it be urged, as it often is, that although this initial step was Henry's, and not a religious step at all, still the English people had been longing for such an opening and were only too glad to avail themselves of it, I can only say that the evidence of Dr. Gairdner, after long years of first-hand experience among original documents, is diametrically opposed to this inference ;—evidence which is the more significant, as contradicting absolutely the conclusions of so distinguished an authority as the late Dr. Creighton, and of that general multitude of people who take his conclusions for granted.

“ It was a contest,” writes Dr. Gairdner, “ not of the English people, but of the King and his Government with Rome,” a Government, we may interpose, selected for the King's purpose from that type of mankind which in every age is prepared to sell itself

118 The Counter-Reformation in

to the highest bidder. Again : " As regards national feeling the people evidently regarded the cause of the Church as the cause of liberty. That their freedom suffered grievously by the abolition of papal jurisdiction under Henry VIII there can be no manner of doubt. . . . The nation at large assuredly did not estimate independence of Rome as a very precious boon. . . . It was only after an able and despotic king had proved himself stronger than the spiritual power of Rome that the people of England were divorced from their Roman allegiance ; and there is abundant evidence that they were divorced from it against their will."

And whereas Dr. Creighton in his *Historical Lectures and Addresses* had declared "that there never was a time in England when the papal authority was not resented, and really the final act of the repudiation of that authority followed quite naturally as the result of a long series of similar acts which had taken place from the earliest times" ; and again that the Reformation "was a great national revolution which found expression in the resolute assertion on the part of England of its national independence," Dr. Gairdner in his comment upon this asks, "Can such statements be justified? Was there anything like a general dislike of the Roman jurisdiction in Church matters before Roman jurisdiction was abolished by Parliament to please Henry VIII? Or did the nation before that day believe that it would be more independent if the Pope's jurisdiction were replaced by that of the King? I fail, I must say, to see any evidence of such a feeling in the copious correspondence of the twenty years preceding. . . . That Rome exercised her spiritual power by the willing obedience of Englishmen in general, and that they regarded it as a really wholesome power, even for the control it exercised over secular tyranny, is a fact which it requires no very intimate

knowledge of early English literature to bring home to us."

Certainly ; it was Henry's action and Henry's passion that broke up the unity of the Church : this it was that had everything to do with the breach in England, and not a little to do with the breach outside. And so far from encouraging genuine reform, whether within this country or outside, Henry put obstacles in the way of Convocation and of leading laymen when they attempted it ; stamping out with brutal cruelty some of the choicest spirits of the age, such as Sir Thomas More, Fisher, and the Carthusians for daring to tell him as gently as they could what a crime he was committing in robbing a nation of its faith, and in tearing the bishops and other Churchmen in this country apart and asunder from their centre of unity in Rome ; while in 1535, when Paul III was urging upon the world the project of a General Council of reform, we find Henry siding definitely with the Protestants at Smalkeld in their determination to repudiate this enterprise.

For the rest, and for his own evil purpose, and contrary to his own Catholic instincts, we find him selecting for the chief seats of the Church prelates who were certain, and because they were certain, to say "Nay" while other prelates were saying "Yea." Have you, then, no better title than "Romanisers" for those who decline to father such a wastrel as this ?

The Word of God is described in Scripture as creative : "He spake the word and they were made, He commanded and they were created." But while this cannot be said of any man, even of the best of men, we have cheated ourselves into saying it of one of the worst of men ; and have drifted into the delusion that on Henry's mere word, "You are not to say 'Pope'" — Protestants were made ; and that when and simply because he commanded — Protestantism was created. Whereas the name of the Pope disappeared from

England because Henry wiped it out, not because the people of England wished it, and the Catholic belief of this country survived just so long as such a belief can survive when Catholic diet is deliberately withdrawn and when Protestant diet is as deliberately substituted for it; with the dish held significantly under our mouths and a sword over our heads.

3. THE ROMAN ISSUE NOT THE TRUE ISSUE

And if the Church did not sit down deliberately to renounce her Faith; if she was tied to Henry's chariot, or bound hand and foot to Edward's Council; and if Elizabeth gave her rulers the cut direct, then in spite of the suspicions that mere separation between two parties must ever engender; in spite of the fact that Rome and England have been compelled to think apart and therefore to drift apart over so long a course of time, the fact remains that, after all, the Roman issue is not the true issue, and that the energy of the Church should be reserved for her real enemy which is not Rome—God forbid—but the world; that world which, as Faber so impressively teaches, is the Church's most dangerous because most insidious foe; that world that was her enemy in the Middle Ages, especially in Germany; prelates putting in their suffragans instead of residing themselves, that they might be at liberty to plunge into all the pleasures of the world, to play the rôle of a country squire, and to use the Church merely as a medium for their own personal advancement and ambition.

And it was this same spirit of the world, within the Church, under the intoxicating influence of the renaissance that obstructed the course of reform, and helped to precipitate the revolution.

And so again it was when his heart had been hardened by the pleasures and lusts of the world that Henry, after England had looked to Rome as her

mother for nine hundred years, tore the mother and daughter apart, as he also tore Catherine of Aragon and her daughter Princess Mary apart.

It was just this spirit of the world which tempted Henry to take advantage of certain undoubted abuses, such as the exactions of the Roman court, not merely to push back the Pope, which may have been right, but to push him out altogether, a step for which he had no sort of authority whatsoever.

This, my Lord, is how and when the "Yea and Nay" we are all beginning to deprecate came into play; and this condition of contradiction, disguised sometimes under the plausible description of "Comprehensiveness," has been with us ever since.

And as men in those critical moments held on to the normal order so long as the terrible conditions permitted, wondering if Henry were mad, or asking anxiously how long he was likely to live, and hoping for better days; and all this without any formal renunciation of the Faith on their part, or excommunication of the Church of England on the part of Rome; so now, as I view the question, the Catholic party stands where they did, insists upon the constitutional reconsideration of Catholic positions, which they were not allowed to do, and like them is content to work and to wait for the day of its redemption. Meantime, my Lord, when in the whole history of the Church has the world been on the side of the Mass and not against it? And so now the weight of the world will be on the side of those who attack the Mass, as it will also be on the side of those who would relax the obligations of marriage; and not on the side of those who dread divorce and withstand it as being against the will of our Lord, or take their stand in defence of the Altar.

4. THE WAY OF PEACE

Quarrels and misunderstandings, however, are not meant to last for ever, and as the mists begin to clear and we look once more into the face of Scripture, and trace our finger along the course of Church history, the outline comes out again to view, disclosing the society our Saviour founded, always from the very outset with a prominent visible personage over it;—first in the Person of the Man Christ Jesus; next in the person of St. Peter; and finally in the person of the Pope.

And for the rest, we may come to see, as time advances, that what we are wont to call the later dogmas of the Church of Rome appear to us untrue only because they are strange, and because, like a man who knows foreign countries only on the map, and not by the experience of foreign travel, we have to view them from without and through spectacles of prejudice manufactured deliberately for us, instead of sharing actively in the common consciousness of the community, viewing it all from within, and coming to conclusions along with the rest.

If, then, the resolution of this contradiction of the "Yea and Nay" involves the enterprise, in one shape or another, of re-union, and if the view I am now proposing appear simple, the view, I mean, that confines it within one signification, viz. union again with the Apostolic See, it is simple, I believe, only because it is scientific. And it is scientific not merely as saving us from the mere drift of sentiment, but also from the terrible assumption underlying every discussion among us, and so evidently underlying the argument of your pamphlet, that whereas all other quarrels whatsoever, whether of individuals, corporations, or countries, always run their course and run out, there is just one awful exception to this rule upon which, alas! we must insist—an exception

which if persisted in must perpetuate the dislocation we are deploring to the very end of time—"whatever else happens, we must not make it up with our mother." Here the standing order must be plain and permanent: "Every advance towards Rome to be nipped in the bud; every attempt to compose the quarrel with Rome to be dealt with firmly and at once." So that apart from the special relation of England to Rome, that very see which in early ages was regarded as a centre, and which is looked to as a centre to-day by some 250,000,000 Christians, must never again be regarded as a centre by us; and whereas that see was referred to for the resolution of difficulties in doctrine and in discipline, that is the see which must now be ruled out. Churchmen are expected not to complain, with the whole range of "new opinions" at their disposal, and almost every other question re-opened or to be re-opened; but they must not re-open Rome. With the very question that is before us, the enterprise was under suspicion until some one came forward to explain that the change would bring our liturgy more into line with the Scottish liturgy—then Convocation's character was understood to be cleared! Scottish yes; Roman no!

And yet this, surely, is to fall once more into the trap that Henry laid so successfully for the Church of his day, and to make the profound mistake of assuming that it was religious conviction and not the exigencies of Tudor lust that made the breach with Rome in the first instance, and paved the way for our confusions afterwards.

The view of re-union I have proposed is scientific, I think, also because it refuses to endorse or even to countenance an oath to do what was wrong extracted from a body of men, on the ground that they had already supported that wrong when they had expressly repudiated it, and under the threat of death if they refused. It is scientific and not sentimental also in

lending no countenance to that kind of setting to partners in one another's pulpits, which is fashionable just now, and which although it may minister ultimately to the Catholic cause by rendering some of the factors of re-union more fluid, appears at least for the moment to substitute confusion for communion, by subordinating truth to the congregation rather than the congregation to the truth. In other words, it is scientific in refusing to relax its hold upon its hypothesis, that is, upon its faith in our Saviour, and in holding steadfastly to His line who proposed the truth to men, and, if necessary, pleaded with them to accept it, without, however, diluting it in order to make it acceptable.

To tell me, then, that the view I hold of the Mass is Roman is not to tell me that it is wrong, but, on the contrary, that it is almost certain to be right; for was it not ever the recognised custom and the custom of commonsense to turn not away from the Apostolic sees but towards them, the level and quality of tradition being naturally higher and purer where Apostles themselves had sat, and where Apostolic doctrine was therefore secure, and particularly towards that centre which was regarded as the Apostolic See *par excellence*, the see of Rome, into which the two chief Apostles "poured all their doctrine with their blood." And it is our failure to see this and to face it that creates what I have called a false issue, and vitiates every discussion on this subject that comes up; our failure, that is, to recognise that our genuine differences with Rome—and I am not denying that there are such—have grown out of our separation, not our separation out of our genuine differences; this latter condition attaching to Henry VIII and not to ourselves.

And if this view be right, if we can gather sufficient courage to cease apologising for our Roman tendencies, and to drop the second compass for which neither

Church nor country asked in the first place, and gradually to renew our hold upon the compass that had served us on the whole so well for three-fourths of our time, our people will hear the word once again as it was heard in England before ; not a "Yea and Nay" which can but create unbelief, but altogether "Yea." Towards this end, and subject to prayer, the principle and the project which will prove most effective is, I feel sure, not plunging into all kinds of pulpits, which is to begin the effort at the wrong end, and not to ask the nation what we may teach, instead of telling it what it is to believe—but the project which has the sanction of the Lambeth Conference, viz. conferences in neutral centres to clear up difficulties and open the way once more into one communion and fellowship.

A small society of which I am a member has held conferences of this kind with our Roman Catholic brethren twice a year for some sixteen years now ; and as it has reduced the distance between our members and Rome, so I am convinced it would reduce the distances between Rome and other communions in this country who are separated from ourselves. "A divine ideal," as Dollinger maintained, "must be capable of fulfilment."

CONCLUSION

What is it, then, my lord, that we are being urged now to do ?

At a moment when distances are everywhere diminishing, and barriers breaking down, at a point of time when England has ceased practically to be an island, when we can look forward without absurdity to a day, not very far distant, when a party of Englishmen may be seen flying to Notre Dame, or to Cologne Cathedral to High Mass, and Catholics from those centres settling down, in the course of their flight, at any one of our churches in England ;

furthermore, with the doctrine of the Real Presence and of the Sacrifice confronting us wherever we turn, whether in space or time, that is, wherever there is coherent teaching on this subject in the great historic communions of the world ; with the certainty in our minds that the Eucharistic position will never be surrendered by the 250,000,000 Churchmen in communion with Rome, or as far as we can judge by our Orthodox brethren in the East ; with some of the choicest of our Nonconformist brethren looking wistfully back at this very moment to the Catholic position, and saying frankly how they lament the loss of the liturgy, and, in so many words, that " they love the Mass " ; with the certainty in our minds, again, that could a proposal to abolish the Mass in the world take the form of a measure in Parliament, there is no statesman with a reputation to lose who would be responsible for it for an instant ; in the face of this we are asked to hold ourselves severely aloof—to repudiate the sacrificial aspect, and to deny the reality of the Presence ; and when it is asked why we should do this, and the answer is returned, because the Sacrifice of the Mass derogates from the honour of the Sacrifice on Calvary, precise theology at once repudiates this by insisting, in scientific treatise and catechism alike, that the Sacrifice in the Mass is one and the same Sacrifice with that on Calvary.

Or again, when it is urged that in the sixteenth century an attempt was made to be rid of the Mass because men came to regard it as a charm which *ipso facto* took away sin, the reply is forthcoming at once that while it is true that the impenitent equally with the penitent communicant receives the blessed Sacrament, it is not true that he receives the virtue of that Sacrament.

And if it be said that the principle of the Mass contradicts the evangelical view of Christianity, are

we not able to say at once that this is exactly what it does not do; that, in fact, the Mass searches out all the essentially evangelical elements in order to exhibit them before the eyes of men, Sunday by Sunday, day by day, that Christ's atoning sacrifice may never be forgotten; that it speaks of the precious blood, of the forgiveness of sins, and of that union of the soul with Christ which is of the essence of religion according to every earnest view in every school of thought? And in case men should protest that the earthly priest comes between the soul and God, we are reminded at once that the Priest in the Mass is our Great High Priest Himself, acting through and by means of the ministerial priest—a condition analogous to the normal course of God's dealings in every department of our life.

You speak of success in the mission-field as if that were effected more certainly where the Mass is away than where it is present. But surely you would not deny that the Church of Rome has ever been in the very forefront in the work of missions; and certainly one of the most successful missions emanating from ourselves is the Universities' Mission in Central Africa, which has ever recognised in the Altar and the Mass the very power-station of its enterprise.

And so far from the advent of William of Orange having been a gain to this country, "preserving to us a gospel which has saved our nation from unbelief and degradation," I always thought that the first half of the eighteenth century was marked by deism and deadness of a most hopeless kind. Does not Butler in his *Analogy* say so in so many words, when he declares that at that time men were taking it for granted that Christianity was untrue, without any necessity for even proving it untrue?

Surely the success whether of ourselves or of Rome in the mission-field lies in the opposite direction to the "religion" of William of Orange, and

to that absence of "enthusiasm" and even suspicion of it for which his undenominational prescription paved the way. While as to unbelief, my lord, is it not one reason why there is not at present a strong infidel school as such among us that infidelity is being preached more effectively from our own pulpits? Here again, is it in churches where the Mass does not matter that we are more certain to hear the gospel defended, or in churches that hold steadily to the Mass and insist on giving it the central place?

Indeed, does not the very drama of the Mass itself preach the gospel more eloquently than any sermon, as being a service without any meaning at all apart from the resurrection and the atonement? On which side, then, is the Counter-Reformation to be found? Has it not from the outset done its utmost to stem the tide of unbelief and not to stimulate it? Was it not this very thing that Cardinal Newman set himself to achieve even before the actual movement began; and was it not one chief purpose of his life to forewarn the world of this very unbelief which is so rife among us to-day, and as far as possible to forestall it? May we not say that the Mass has a great work to do in the world in this respect, and ought not that sure instinct of the world, in its constant effort to destroy it, to convince us of this?

What more intensely evangelical service can be conceived than one which pictures out for us the awful drama of our Lord's death? Surely here, apart from contact and actual communion, we have a gospel environment, with a reverent ceremonial to supply an antidote to that spirit of the world which is ever intruding itself and acting like a drug on the human spirit, to cheat it away from the things of God?

Of all the divisions among Christians, surely the most cruel because the most misleading is that which persists in separating and holding apart Evangelicals

from Catholics in the matter of the Mass. And instead of acquiescing in this separation and stereotyping a contradiction upon the world, and so as teachers of the gospel actually creating that very unbelief we deplore, is it not a more hopeful project and more after the mind of our Lord to set about explaining and disentangling in order to say all of us "the same thing," and to come into line with the normal teaching of Christendom?

Did Faber, for example, ever cease to be an Evangelical because he came to love the Mass? On the contrary, did he not carry on his Evangelicalism and carry it out with him, except its negations, when he passed up into Catholicity? And did not Newman do the same? And may we not hope that the Church of England will do likewise if in the providence of God she is led to follow in their steps?

It is true, surely, that Faber kept a firm hold throughout upon all that belongs to the substance of Evangelical belief, to which you also cling so earnestly; and his hymns, his spiritual conferences, and other devotional writings are with us to-day to prove it.

While Cardinal Newman could close his letter to an Evangelical friend of his day, a Mr. Edwards, secretary of the London Evangelical Society, with words that may well bring this Reply also to a close—words that go right home to our hearts, and make us wonder that we are not one:

"I will not close our correspondence," he writes, only three and a half years before his death, "without testifying my simple love and adhesion to the Catholic Roman Church . . . and did I wish to give a reason for this full and absolute devotion, what should, what can I say but that those great and burning truths which I learned when a boy from Evangelical teaching, I have found impressed upon my heart with fresh and ever-increasing force by the Holy Roman Church?

That Church has added to the simple Evangelicalism of my first teachers, but it has obscured, diluted, enfeebled nothing of it. On the contrary, I have found a power, a resource, a comfort, a consolation in our Lord's Divinity and atonement, in His real presence in Communion, in His divine and human power, which all good Catholics indeed have, but which Evangelical Christians have but faintly. . . ."

INDEX

- Act, Supremacy, 33 *et seq.*
 Adoration, 29-32
 Ambrose, 27
 Anne Boleyn, 34, 50
 Apostasy, National, sermon on, 13
 Apostolic See, 122-125
 Appeal, Court of, 13, 46
 Aquinas, 28
 Articles, XXXIX, 45
 Audeley, 53
 Augustine, 27

 Bacon, Sir N., 77
 Bancroft, Bp., 85
 Becket, 94, 105, 106
 Benger, resents tyranny, 55
 Bernard, St., on reform, 14
 Bonner, 66
 Bossuet, 14
 Bridgettine Order, 53
 Bristol, riot at, 92
 Bucer, 67
 Bulls, 39

 Canon Law, 48, 50
 Canterbury and Rome, 38
 Carthusians, 52 *et seq.*
 Catherine, 41
 Charles V., 71, 72, 85, 96
 Christian Year, 13, 88
 Church, 102 *et seq.*
 Clause, qualifying, 37
 Clergy and Commons, 39
 Confusion, heritage of, 63
 Congé D'Elire, 93
 Consecration, 26, 27
 Consistory Court, 39
 Convocation, 36, 37, 76 *et seq.*
 Cranmer, 46-64, etc.

 Creighton, contradicted, 117, 118
 Cyprian, 27
 Cyril, 27

 Darcy, 56
 Declaration of Assent, 45
 Demur, Demand and, 36
 Denison, Archd., 98, 99, 113

 Eastern Church, 25 *et seq.*
 Edward, 63 *et seq.*
 Elizabeth, 76
 Emancipation, 87
 Erastianism, 13, 102 *et seq.*
 Eucharist, 9, 10, 20 *et seq.*
 Excommunication, 94

 Faber, 120, 129
 Fisher, 34, 52, 56, 89, 94, 95, etc.
 Form, In Ordination, 11
 Fortescue, Dr. Adrian, Eastern
 Church, 25-27
 Froude, 13, 89 *et seq.*

 Gairdner, 33 *et seq.*, 63, 117, 118
 Gardiner, Bp., 65, 69
 Germany, 14, 41
 Gloucester, Bp. of, 66
 Gospels, Book of, 42
 Government Church, 64
 Grace, Pilgrimage of, 69

 Hambridge, Vicar of, 30
 Hampton Court, 85
 Heath, Bp., 66, 79
 Hedley, Bp., 28
 Henry, 33, 57 *et passim.*
 Heresy, 57
 Hermann of Cologne, 67

- Hooper, Bp., 59
 Hussey, Lord, 55
- Irenæus, 24
- James, St., 84; King, 85
 Jerusalem, Synod of, 25
 Jesuit, 87
- Keble, John, 13, 88 *et seq.*, 108-111
 King and Commons, 35, 39, 50, etc.
 Knox, Alex., 111
 Kostarides, 26
- Latimer, 61
 Latitudinarian, 86
 Leeds, Vicar of, 45
 Liberalism, 90
 Library of Fathers, 95
 Llandaff, 79
 Luther, 56, 57
- Mackonachie, 101, 113
 Madden, Sir F., 75
 Manning, 15, 22, 106
 Marillac, 58
 Mary, 70 *et seq.*, 98
 Mass, 20-32, 59
 Melancthon, 57
 Mildert, Van, 108
 Montague, 85
 More, Sir T., 34, 56, 84
 Movement, Oxford, 13, 88 *et seq.*, 116
- Nation not with Henry, 117, 118
 National Church, 34, 70, 89
 New Opinions, 58
 Newman, 88 *et seq.*, 112, 128, 129
 Nucerinus, 54
- Oath, Cranmer's, 42, 43
 — Ollard, 114
 Orange, William of, 127
 Orders, 10
 Orthodox Faith, 25
- Oxford Movement. See Movement.
- Papal claims, 83, 124
 Parliament, Packed, 35, 50
 Peace, way of, 122
 Philip of Spain, 72
 Pole, Cardinal, 32, 74, 75
 Pope, not to say, 119
 Præmunire, 35
 Prayer Books, Two, 66-70
 Prejudice, 77, 82, 122
 Presence, The Real, 20 *et seq.*
 Puritan, 83, 85
 Pusey, on Real Presence, 29, 32, 94 *et seq.*
- Queen Catherine. See Catherine.
 Queen Mary. See Mary.
- Reading Abbey, 64
 Real Presence. See Presence.
 Record Office, 40
 Reformation and Counter-Reformation, 10 *et seq.*, 88 *et seq.*
 Reynolds, 53, 54, 79
 Ridley, Bp., 65, 98
 Riot. See Bristol.
 Romanisers, 119.
 Rome, 21-25, and East, 26, 27
 Ryder, Fr. Dudley, 28
- Sacrament, 20 *et seq.*, 58-60, 89, 126
 Sacrifice, 9, 10, 23, 24, 26, etc.
 Schoolmen, 28
 Scripture, part of tradition, 109
 Shrine, Becket's, despoiled, 94
 Succession, Act of, 56, 61, 94
 Supremacy, Act of, 33 *et seq.*
 Supreme Head, 36-39, 47-49, 51, 60
- Tertullian, 24
 Tracts, 92, 112
 Tradition, Keble on, 95, 108, 109, 110
 Transubstantiation, 25, 27, 28, 77, 96
 Treasons, Statute of, 16, 94

- Trent, Council of, 20 *et seq.*, 73
- Tunstall, Bp., 38, 91, 93
- Tyndale, his corrupt translation, 90
- Unbelief, forestalled by Newman, 128
- Uniformity, 99
- Unity, Association for Promoting, 99
- Universities consulted on Divorce, 77, 89
- Vaughan, Cardinal, 15
- Vere, Aubrey de, on Reformation, 84
- Verily, 21, 22
- Wakeman, 64, 66
- Ward, 96
- Warham, 13, 38, 39, 91, 92
- Watson, a non-resident bishop, 14
- Wells, sermon in Cathedral, 98, 99
- Wyclif, heresies of, 91

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